Guido van Hengel

We, of tomorrow

A history of the young Bosnian student networks

Groningen, 2016

rijksuniversiteit
groningen

We, of tomorrow

A history of the young Bosnian student networks

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
rector magnificus prof. dr. E. Sterken
en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag 26 januari 2017 om 16.15 uur

door

Guido Christiaan van Hengel
geboren op 1 mei 1982
te Blaricum

Promotor

Prof. dr. D.F.J. Bosscher

Copromotor

Dr. S. de Hoop

Beoordelingscommissie

Prof. dr. H.R.H. Büschel

Prof. dr. R. Detrez

Prof. dr. W.E. Krul

Acknowledgments

This PhD-project has a prehistory. In 2007 I copied some sources about the young Bosnians in the Sarajevo archive. The story puzzled me, and I thought I might write about it one day. And that's what happened. Amongst other things, it yielded some essays, a monograph and a graphic novel. Some parts of this manuscript are similar to parts of *De Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, which was published in 2014. This applies specifically to some pages in 1.1, and the chapters 2.4, 3.3-3.5 and 6.2, though I have translated them into English, after which I adjusted the text.

Now, the project ends here. [1] This dissertation is my contribution to pushing the limits of academic historical understanding of Bosnian students in the Austro-Hungarian era. Now is the time to look back on the project and to express my appreciation for all those without whom this dissertation would never have seen the light of day.

I will start in the aforementioned prehistory. There must have been others who expressed interest for this project, but the person that first comes to mind is Koen Koch, the great World War I historian who sadly passed away in 2012. I will never forget he was the one who encouraged me to write the book.

My PhD-project officially started in 2011. I would like to thank my supervisors Sipke de Hoop and Doeko Boscher, who helped me gain focus in the early phase of my project, then gave me the freedom to explore the subject in depth, and, ultimately, provided me with insightful feedback. From 2011 to 2015 I received financial support from the Center for Cultural Research (ICOG) in Groningen. Their administrative staff, especially Gorus van Oordt and Marijke Wubbolts, made life easier. During these years I was working as a lecturer in the Department of Contemporary History, and my colleagues over there have been of great importance to me. They are: Ine, Stefan, Maarten, Tom, Susan, Bert, Tity, Toon and Peter. I want to express special appreciation to Clemens Six, my office companion, for all the laughter, conversations and debates, and for reviewing some chapters as well.

[1] I have finished my research in September 2015.

Other colleagues I am indebted to are Monika Baár, Sander Brouwer, Binne de Haan, Megan Williams, James Leigh, Justine Jones, Boudewijn Smits, Hans Renders, Leonieke Vermeer, and Nicolaas Kraft van Ermel. The fellows at the PhD-front were fun company during lunches and after work. Thanks to Simon Halink, Stef Wittendorp and all the others for sharing their knowledge, jokes, and sorrow. Definitely, all students in Groningen have challenged and inspired me in one way or another, but I have a particularly fond memory of the participants in the seminar about the *culture of terror*. Teaching and research are two sides of the same coin, and I realized this once more in that winter of 2014/2015.

The University of Groningen proved to be a nice working environment, but most of this dissertation was actually developed in the vicinity of the historical actors I described: in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Vienna. In Sarajevo I was fortunate to receive guidance and help from Haris Zajmović, Mujo Kostić, Saša Beltram en Omer Bajić at the Historical Archive of Sarajevo; Boro and Sanja of the Archive of Bosnia and Hercegovina; Carl Bethke; Andrea Dautović of the Provincial Museum; Husnija Kamberović and Amir Duranović of the Institute for Contemporary History; Mirsad Avdić of the City Museum of Sarajevo. Gavrilo 'Bato' Princip was willing to spend a whole afternoon talking about his family and he drove me to Hadžići.

In Belgrade I received help from bright and friendly scholars. Zoran Bajin reviewed chapters and guided me through the complicated history of early 20th century Serbia. Other persons that must be mentioned here are the late Predrag Palavestra, Miloš Vojinović, Miloš Ković, Nemanja Radulović, Radovan Cukić, Maja Nikolova, Olivera Marković, Martin Bošković, Predrag Manov, and Stijn Vervaet.

Others around the world I acknowledge a debt to - for various reasons - are Elka Agoston-Nikolova, Guus Rijven, Aleksandra Popit, Danilo Šarenac, the late Holm Sundhaussen, Ewoud Kieft, Marc Hannemann, Pieter van Leeuwen, Lodewijk Smoor, Jim Gibbons, Marijke Mulder, Mathijs Peters, Thijs and Arjaan van Nimwegen, Tim Butcher, and Paul Miller.

The publication of my book in 2014 gave me the opportunity to share my ideas with a larger audience. Therefore, I am grateful to

Frederike Doppenberg and Laurens Ubbink of Ambo | Anthos publishers, Christel Meijer of Shared Stories and the editors of *Historisch Nieuwsblad*. I'd also like to thank the readers that gave something in return, such as feedback, inspiration and new insights. I'm talking about Arjen Dijkstra, Studium Generale Groningen, Sven Peeters, Jelica Novaković, Joost van Egmond, De Warme Winkel, but there must be many more.

Working on the graphic novel *Atentat* was a completely different experience. I have nice memories of my collaboration with Boris Stanić, whose drawings are so unique and powerful. The graphic novel was awarded a Serbian prize, not that much for the text, as well for Boris' unique and in-your-face artwork. I thank Goran Lakićević of Besna Kobila for believing in this project, and I recall his erudition and unbelievable hospitality.

It was challenging to finish my dissertation while working almost full-time at the School of European Studies | The Hague University of Applied Science. Therefore, I was happy to find myself in a team of fantastic colleagues who strongly inspired and supported me. Thank you Andreas, Antje, Enitsa, Maarten, Mihaela, Paul N., Paul S. and Pieter.

Last but not least, I want to send my thanks out to the "home front" of this PhD-battle: my friends, the Ontploffende Apen, of course my parents, who were always tremendously supportive and caring, and Marike, Hugo and Joanneke and their partners, Maartje and András, and my nephews and nieces. Finally, there is not enough place to express a multitude of feelings of gratitude and fondness to Marta, who has been my closest and dearest ally.

Table of Contents

Part IV: Bazarov in Bosnia

Part V: The Educators

Part VI: The Assassins

Introduction: "Mlada Bosna"

Historiographical and methodological considerations

The meaning of Mlada

In June 2014 the Bosnian capital city of Sarajevo commemorated the hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. A memorial event took place in the renovated library that was shelled during the civil wars of the 1990s.[2] Several heads of states were present, including those of Austria, Croatia, Montenegro and Macedonia. History-inspired tourists travelled to Bosnia. There were various programs and projects, such as European youth exchanges and musical performances.[3] Bosnian Serbs and Bosniaks unveiled different monuments in different parts of the country.[4] And on the famous street corner where Gavrilo Princip had assassinated the Austrian Archduke a hundred years earlier, a banner was shown bearing the somewhat strange message: "The street corner that changed history".

Meanwhile, in local academic centers numerous historical conferences were taking place.[5] During one of these conferences, organized by the Historical Institute of Sarajevo in collaboration with a number of Central European universities, the question was raised whether there was still something left to research in "Mlada Bosna" -

[2] The overarching theme was "Sarajevo: Heart of Europe". See: http://www.sarajevosrceeurope.org.

[3] A programme can still be found on: http://sarajevo2014.com/en/events (accessed February 2016).

[4] Milos Mitrovic, "Kusturica reveals monument to Gavrilo Princip" http://www.balkaneu.com/kusturica-reveals-monument-gavrilo-princip (accessed February 2016); Marija Ristic, "Belgrade to get Gavrilo Princip monument" http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/belgrade-to-get-gavrilo-princip-monument (accessed February 2016).

[5] Conference: *The Long Shots of Sarajevo* (June 23-29, 2014), organized by Sarajevo: Heart of Europe; Conference: *The Great War: Regional Approaches and Global Contexts* (June 18-21, 2014), organized by Institute for History and other European Academic Institutions; Conference: *First World War: Reflections from behind the front lines* (June 26-29, 2014), organized by the Archive of Bosnia and Hercegovina; Conference: *First World War, Ottoman Empire and the Balkans*, (September 17, 2014), organized by the International University of Sarajevo (IUS).

the "association" behind the attack of 1914. The organizers had reprinted findings of a round-table debate about the same issues that was held in the 1970s, in the socialist Yugoslav federation.[6] Apparently, almost everything had been discussed in detail during that event, long time ago. What else could be said? A possible answer could be that Mlada Bosna may have been sufficiently analyzed for the second part of the name: Bosna (Bosnia). After the Dayton agreements of 1995 the identity, existence, and ethnic diversity of this part of the Balkans were discussed in all possible academic and non-academic circles. Bosnia still is one of the most common places to do research into nationhood, ethnic war, nationalism, post-conflict societies and the break-up of a multi-ethnic state. Then, it seems logical to put Mlada Bosna in this context: What was the identity of the "members" of Mlada Bosna? What kind of future country did they have in mind? Were they Serbs? Yugoslavs? Bosniaks? Croats?

These questions are all very important, and will also be discussed in this dissertation, but they are not among the crucial focal points. Considering myself a member of a new generation of historians that recently turned away from the predominantly 'national' approach to South-East European history, I will focus instead on the first part of the name: not Bosna, but *Mlada* (young).[7] This means that this dissertation can be perceived as a study into Balkan history, as well as a book about a specific historical and geographical context of youth culture.

Let us therefore take a closer look at the word "young". The adjective "young" in this context must be understood as something more than just an indication of the age of the individuals involved. Being "young" was, in fact, one of the main cultural frames of the late 19th and early 20th century. Throughout the 19th century, the cultural notion of being young changed dramatically. New conceptions of

[6] Arif Tanović (ed.), *Okrugli sto o Mladoj Bosni*, edition of *Pregled* (1974/7-8). Even one of the participants of that particular round-table was present to once more share his ideas: Dževad Juzbašić. He wrote for the 1974 book the article: "Neki problem obrade Mlade Bosne", 771-777.

[7] Maria Falina and Balázs Trencsényi, "Introduction: Coping with Plurality: Nationalist and Multinational Frames of Mind in East Central European Political Thought, 1878–1941" *East Central Europe* 39 (2012), 173-179.

generations were articulated by philosophers, historians and writers. This, in turn, was linked to the notion of a new future for Europe and the whole of humanity. This led to a new understanding of time, and a new, modern type of "historical consciousness". [8] Historical consciousness was therefore similar to generational thinking: a new generation was living in a new present. "Fathers and Sons" was a recurring theme in literature, and not only in the Great Russian novels of Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoevsky or Andrey Bely. This new idea of time, and youth, was also materialized in movements. Most of them took inspiration of the first outspoken "young movement": Giusseppe Mazzini's *Young Italy*.[9] Young Italy was indeed an early 19th century political movement, but it was also known as a discourse practice of scheming and plotting, secret societies meeting in dark attics, using nick-names, signs and passwords, initiation rituals, and other cloak-and-dagger practices. Mazzini's political "youthfulness" was a concept, yes indeed a discourse, and it had successfully crossed borders. [10] After the short-lived collaboration of the Young Germans, Italians and Poles in *Young Europe* (1834), and after the failed revolutions of 1848/49, again some 'young' movements appeared in the late 19th century. In Belgium a group of poets published the periodical *Young Belgium* to disseminate their realistic and modernist poems. In the Polish lands under Austrian rule a group of artists presented themselves as *Young Poland*, echoing the 'other' Young Poland of the early 19th century. In Germany, the magazine *Jugend* ('Youth') became popular among urban intellectual elites and its style and design became known as *Jugendstil*

[8] A modern "historical consciousness" (in German: *Geschichtsbewußtsein*) is, in the explanation of Jörn Rüsen, not only about how to memorize or commemorate the past, but also about the wish to connect this very past with the present, and expectations of the future. Rüsen wrote: "Geschichtsbewusstsein ist Vollzug und Resultat dieser Synthese: Sie prägt sich in der Vorstellung eines Zeitverlaufs aus, der an Vorgangen der Vergangenheit Zusammenhänge von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft sinnenfallig macht." Jörn Rüsen, *Historische Orientierung: Über die Arbeit des Geschichtsbewußtseins, sich in der Zeit zurechtzufinden* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 8.
[9] E.E.Y. Hales, *Mazzini and the Secret Societies: The Making of a Myth* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956), 61-62.
[10] Roland Sarti, "Giuseppe Mazzini and Young Europe" in: C.A. Bayli and Eugenio Biagnini (eds.), *Giusseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 275-299: 278.

('Youth style').[11] What mattered around 1900 was not to become adult as soon as possible but rather to stay young as long as possible.[12]

In this dissertation I will take this phenomenon of a generational consciousness as a point of interest. There are three reasons for that. First, by shifting away from the very local Bosnian context, I will be able to make transnational comparisons, putting Mlada Bosna in its international context. Doing this, I can analyze the real international connections in the young Bosnian network and at the same time focus on the "imagined connections", meaning the cultural transfer and general inspiration of the young Bosnians. "Young Bosnia" was a relative latecomer on the European scene, so its representatives could take inspiration from predecessors in Italy, Belgium, Germany, and so on.

Second, the "young" aspect can shine some light on *social* developments. Questions can be asked about the position of the younger generation in social strata. The role of students, the networks of students, and the participation of the young generations are hence important issues to address. In this context, the "youth"-perspective is used to analyze processes of social and political participation.

Third, around 1900 the theme of "youth" was also associated with issues such as modernization, a new age, the future of (European) culture. The paradigm of youth can open up insights into the way how Bosnian student movements accounted for the main cultural themes of their time. Through the prism of "youth" it becomes clear how these young students positioned themselves in society, and - ultimately - in history.

---

[11] It must be stressed that *Jugend* was a rather elitist youth periodical, read by artists and writers. At the same time there was this middle-class phenomenon of the young Germans, the *Wandervogel*, who strongly felt the desire to get out of town and wander through the countryside. This movement was very different from the artistic circles around Jugend. See: Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 1962).

[12] John Neubauer, *The Fin-De-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992); Sergio Luzzato, "Young Rebels and Revolutionaries, 1789-1917", in Giovanni Levi and Jean Claude Schmitt (eds.), *A History of Young People in the West, vol. 2* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1997) 174-231.

Before elaborating on the status questionis I have to make something clear: Mlada Bosna, as such, did not exist in reality. There was no organization with this name, there were no members, and there were no union structures. Even the term "Mlada Bosna" first came into use after the First World War.[13] This is no new discovery in historiography. Luigi Albertini already made this clear during the Second World War.[14] Other historians would emphasize this later on. So I have no illusion of presenting something new here. However, I believe that, once and for all, the nature of the student networks that came to be known as Mlada Bosna must be described more definitively, so that a general consensus can be reached which will seep into the historical consciousness of – also – the popular historians and their readers. In order to unravel Mlada Bosna as a loose and continuously evolving network I have decided to focus on the generation of early schooled youngsters, and more in particular, the Bosnian students studying abroad in Vienna, Zagreb and Prague. In this dissertation I will analyze the quantity and the quality of these networks. Quantity means: how were ideas and ideologies transferred through the student network? How did the students and ideas "wander" through the university infrastructures of Southeast and Central Europe? Which networks can be distinguished and how did they evolve over time? Quality means: What did these networks and connections mean to the persons involved and how was the social network put into a narrative?

This introduction has three parts: First I discuss past research on Mlada Bosna, then I give an overview of the methods and perspectives in the present research. Eventually I present my questions and give the outline of the study.

[13] Wayne Vucinich, "Mlada Bosna and the First World War" in: Robert A. Kann et. al. (eds.), *The Habsburg Empire in World War I. Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Efforts* (New York: Boulder, 1977) 45-70.

[14] Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914: Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 23. Originally published in Italian in 1942-3.

1.1 Past research

The subject is highly politicized. There are many conflicting historical representations of the Young Bosnian student networks, and the debate is still ongoing. Over the last 100 years this subject has been buried under layers of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav hagiography, World War trauma's and ideological imagery of the 20th century. In order to clear up some confusion, I will pierce first through these layers by outlining the most dominant debates on the subject. These debates revolve around two main international historical and political dilemmas; the war-guilt of 1914 and the break-up of Yugoslavia.

World War Guilt

Because "Mlada Bosna" was associated with the outbreak of the First World War, references to the organization can be found in all books that were published throughout the last 100 years on the subject. [15] Therefore, the historical, cultural and psychological background of the movement has been overshadowed by the question whether the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie was just a pretext, a spark or a basic cause for the outbreak of the war.

Around the time of the 2014 Great War centennial new books were published about the Sarajevo outrage. [16] Without doubt it was Australian historian Christopher Clark who reached the largest audience with his *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to war in 1914*.[17] The conclusion of this book was that all greater and smaller powers of Europe could be held responsible for the outbreak of the First

[15] Wayne Vucinich, Op. Cit.; Mile Bjelajac, *Zašto revizije? Stare i nove kontroverze o uzrocima prvog svetskog rata* (Belgrade: Odbrana, 2014) 47-118.
[16] A surprisingly exhaustive list of publications in the Dutch-speaking world is discussed in: Sven Peeters and Jelica Novaković, *Wat kwam er uit een schot?* (Antwerpen: Vrijdag, 2015); also published in Serbian: *Posledice jednog pucnja* (Belgrade: Clio, 2015).
[17] Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to War in 1914* (London: Penguin books, 2013).

World War and 'sleepwalked' into the catastrophe. *The Sleepwalkers* was a major success in both academic and mainstream public opinion.

An interesting aspect of Clark's bestseller was his reintroduction of the responsibility for the outbreak of the World War I. This is a historic discussion that goes all the way back to the days of 1914. It all began with Gavrilo Princip's gunshots. Immediately after the war broke out the Great Powers started to publish diplomatic sources as evidence of their innocence.[18] After peace was signed, the question of war guilt led to vehement debates, not just in historical but also – if not mainly - in political circles. In 1921 in Berlin a journal was founded aiming to investigate the *Kriegsschuldfrage* ('the question of war guilt') of 1914.[19] The chief-editor, Alfred von Wegener, tried to untie the knots of the Balkan conspiracy in order to prove Serbia's guilt - and Germany's innocence. [20] *Kriegsschuldfrage* predominantly focused on the connection between the Young Bosnians and the Serbian state. Their conclusion was that there was obviously a connection, and the secret services of Belgrade had instructed the assassins of Franz Ferdinand.[21] Von Wegerer's revisionist interpretation received acclaim

[18] In august 1914 the German government published a *Whitebook* of official documents, in which they made clear that the country was waging a defensive war against the Russian aggressor. Then the British government published a *Bluebook*, the Russians an *Orangebook*, the Belgians a *Greybook* and the Serbs a *Bluebook*. In 1915, the French went one step further in their *Yellowbook*, in which they presented evidence that the German Empire had long before 1914 begun planning a Great War in Europe. In the same year the Austrians published a *Redbook*, as a reaction to the Serbian statements. Both countries accused each other pointing at the responsibility for the Sarajevo outrage in relation to the outbreak of the war.

[19] The journal *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* came out regularly between 1923 and 1929, published then under the name of *Berliner Monatshefte für internationale Aufklärung: Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, which was changed in 1932 into *Berliner Monatshefte: Zeitschrift für Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Weltkrieges*. In 1944 the journal stopped being published.

[20] He wrote two books: *Die Widerlegung der Versailler Kriegsschuldthese* (Berlin: Hobbing, 1928); Idem, *Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (Hamburg; (n.p.), 1939).

[21] Archive of Yugoslavia (Belgrade) - Zbirka Vojislav Jovanović Marambo 1942/28. During World War the discussion about the *Hintermänner* of Gavrilo Princip and his accomplices made the Nazis decide to destroy or steal archival material the Sarajevo Archives. This "archive-war" between Yugoslavia and Austria continued during the Cold War. Documents in the archives of Yugoslavia show that many documents after World War II did not return to Sarajevo or Belgrade. Nazi archivists were instructed to "rearrange" the sources about German minorities in Southeast Europe (*Volksdeutsche*) and, accordingly, to get the documents to prove the 'Mitschuld der

not only in Germany and Austria, but also in the United States. The 1925 publication *Genesis of the World War* by Harry Elmer Barnes generally followed Von Wegerer's argument.[22] Barnes concluded that Serbia and Russia were to blame for the outbreak of the First World War at least as much as Germany and, additionally, he deemed Austria-Hungary's reaction to the Sarajevo assault wholly justified. Interestingly, in his critique of the Versailles treaty, Barnes also expressed his disgust for the people who had caused the war, and, especially, for the doomed and dark corner of the Balkans. Barnes' book is an expression of American bewilderment about a distant barbaric continent being disposed to self-destruction.[23] Similar ideas were expressed in Britain, as is shown in the famous quote of Arnold Toynbee, in 1915: "The curse of the Balkans has descended upon the whole of Europe, and laid bare unsuspected depths of chaotic hatred."[24]

---

serbischen Regierung am Attentat von Sarajevo', and – consequently – bring them to Vienna. See: Vojislav Jovanović-Marambo, *Potraga za ukradenom istorijom* (Belgrade; Jugoistok 2010); Guido van Hengel, "Op zoek naar splinters" *Groniek* (2014), 345-361; Keith Wilson (ed.), *Forging the Collective Memory. Government and International Historians through Two World Wars* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996).

[22] Harry Elmer Barnes, *Genesis of the World War* (New York; Century, 1925).

[23] The debate about the Western imagination of the Balkans in the 20th century is deliberately left out of this introduction, because it appears in almost all books about Balkan history since the publication of Maria Todorova's highly influential *Imagining the Balkans* (New York/Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997). See for some concise historiographic reflections and critiques: Eugene Michail, "Western Attitudes to War in the Balkans and the Shifting Meanings of Violence 1912-91", *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 (2012/2), 219-239; Edin Hajdarpasic, "Locations of Knowledge: Area Studies, Nationalism and 'Theory' in Balkan Studies since 1989", *Kakanien Revisited*, 17/07/2009, http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/EHajdarpasic1.pdf; K. E. Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography" *The American Historical Review* 105 (2000/4), 1218-1233; Holm Sundhaussen, "Europa Balcanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 25 (1999), 626-653; Maria Todorova, "Der Balkan als Analysekategorie: Grenzen, Raum, Zeit" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), 470-492; Holm Sundhaussen, "Der Balkan. Ein Plädoyer für Differenz", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 29 (2003), 608-624; Maria Todorova, "The trap of backwardness: Modernity, temporality and the study of Eastern European nationalism", *Slavic Review* 64 (2005), 140-164.

[24] A. Toynbee, "Greece", in N. Forbes et al., *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece,*

These pejorative depictions were left out in another classic study that was published in 1925: *The Origins of the World War*, written by the American historian Sidney Fay.[25] Fay wrote some chapters about the background of the assassins, and deducted a plausible story from the available sources.[26] He distinguished in his argument between underlying and immediate causes and concluded that – retrospectively - all warring parties could be taken somewhat responsible for the outbreak, but, "of all the major conflicts of interest which have been alleged as making it 'inevitable', the Balkan problems were those most nearly incapable of a peaceful solution."[27]

The idea that Serbia could be held culpable for the outbreak of the First World War because of conspirational activities in the region, as it was explained by Von Wegerer, Fay, and Barnes, was rejected by several historians in the interwar period, including the American author Bernadotte Schmitt.[28] In these decades the ideas of Schmitt were juxtaposed against the revisionists Fay and Barnes. After the Second World War new publications would redefine this contrast. Alan J. P. Taylor focused in his popular *The Struggle for Mastery* on the imperialistic policy of the German Empire and did not mention Young Bosnia at all, nor the name of the 'Bosnian-Serb', who assassinated Franz Ferdinand.[29]

Then, of major importance were the three volumes of Luigi Albertini's *Le Origini della Guerra del 1914*, which were published during the Second World War in Milan, and translated in the late 1940s.[30] Albertini, unlike Taylor, did indeed concentrate again on the developments in South-Eastern Europe on the eve of the outbreak of the

---

Rumania, Turkey (Oxford 1915), 247, cited in: Eugene Michail, "Western Attitudes to War in the Balkans and the Shifting Meanings of Violence 1912-91", *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 (2012/2), 219-239: 228.

[25] Sidney Bradshaw Fay, *The origins of the world war. Book I: Before Sarajevo: Underlying causes of the war* (New York; Macmillan Company, 1929) en: idem, *The Origins of the World War. Book II: After Sarajevo: Immediate causes of the war* (New York; Macmillan Company, 1929).

[26] Ibidem, Book II, 53-151.

[27] Ibidem, 546.

[28] Bernadotte Schmitt, *The Coming of War 1914* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1930).

[29] Taylor, *Struggle for Mastery* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965), 520.

[30] Luigi Albertini, *Le origini della guerra del 1914* (Milan, Fratelli Bocca, 1942-43). Translated into English: *Origins of the war of 1914* (New York: Eningma, 2005).

war and paid much attention to the background, context and culture of the young Bosnians. According to Albertini, the spark of the war was ignited not so much by governmental leaders of Serbia or Austria, but by shady generals in Belgrade, grouped in the secret society of the Black Hand. Albertini's work was very influential and during the 1950s and 1960s his books offered the most accurate account of the historical complexities around the Sarajevo assault of 1914.

In the 1970s, however, the discussion about the outbreak of the First World War took a completely different direction. The German historian Fritz Fisscher started a debate about the responsibility of the First World War and went further back in the past to find causalities. He claimed that there was a relation, not only between the First and the Second War, but also between the German imperialistic policy of the late 19th century and the horrors of the 20th century. These *Fisscher-Debatte* had a lasting influence on all formulation about guilt and suffering in the 20th century in general, and the two world wars in particular.[31]

Interestingly, in the debates on war-guilt, especially since the Fischer-debates in the 1970s, the young Bosnians were almost completely left out. The outbreak of the First World War had instead become an issue of European (and German) trauma.[32] In the 1980s and 1990s, some historians stressed that the Greater History of the Great War was only for a small part rooted in local Bosnian circumstances, while for the larger part it could be understood as an apocalyptic challenge to Europe's modernity. We must understand these statements in the light of the 'cultural turn' in the humanities, which took place in those decades. Publications such as Eksteins' 1990 *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* contemplated on the First

[31] Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht: Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/1918* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961); Idem, *Krieg der Illusionen: Die deutsche Politik von 1911-1914* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1969). Annika Mombauer discussed the Fisscher-Kontroverse in: *The origins of the First World War. Controversies and Consensus* (London; Pearson, 2002).

[32] See, for instance: Jay Winter (ed.), *The Legacy of the Great War Ninety Years On* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Idem, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Idem, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in European cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

World War in the context of cultural, artistic and psychological undercurrents of society.[33]

This is, in short, an outline of the debate. In *The Sleepwalkers* Clark mostly reformulated the old conclusions about the Sarajevo outrage which had been developed by Fay and others during the interwar period. Still, what was relatively new in *The Sleepwalkers* was that Clark shifted attention from the Western powers to the Russians and the Balkans. This was something relatively new, of course primarily for Western readers. Much had already been discussed in Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav historiography but due to language difficulties these debates never reached an international audience. Clark paid much attention to the conspiracies, assassinations and shady relations of the Serbian political elite, especially in chapters with ominous titles such as "Serbian Ghosts" and "Balkan helter-skelter". Not surprisingly, *The Sleepwalkers* provoked strong reactions among readers in Eastern Europe. In Serbia, for example, some of Clark's sweeping statements were understood as anti-Serbian revisionism, possibly inspired by contemporary cultural frames. Bojan Aleksov summed up the most important (academic) objections: "Christopher Clark and others openly question whether Young Bosnians' alleged Yugoslavism was nothing but aggressive Serb nationalism in disguise by drawing parallels and connections to how Serb nationalism was a driving force behind much of interwar Yugoslavia, some horrific crimes committed during the WW 2 and last but not least – its key role in the destruction of the second Yugoslavia as well as in wars and crimes committed in 1990s."[34]

When I published my own book about Gavrilo Princip (in Dutch) in 2014 I was criticized for not including enough paragraphs about the Sarajevo assassination in relation to the war-guilt of the Great

[33] Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Miflin, 1989). Another history of war mentality is: Ewoud Kieft, *Oorlogsenthousiasme. Europa 1900-1918* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2015).

[34] Bojan Aleksov, "Forgotten Yugoslavism and anti-clericalism of Young Bosnians", *Prilozi | Contributions* 43 (2014), 79-87:81-82; Some other critical Serbian reviews are: Miloš Vojinović, "Review of Christopher Clark's Sleepwalkers", *Balkanica* 44 (2013) 422-432; Danilo Šarenac, "O knjiži Mesečari: Kako je Evropa ušla u rat 1914. Profesora Kristofer Klarka" *Vojnoistorički Glasnik* 1 (2013), 267-280.

War.[35] At lectures, some persons in the audience asked me about it. They possibly had heard of the Black Hand, and learned at school that Princip started the Great War in 1914. Now, retrospectively, I believe this criticism was very much inspired by the success of Christopher Clark's Black Hand stories in *The Sleepwalkers*. As in my particular study about Gavrilo Princip, this dissertation too avoids dealing with the issue of national responsibilities. I think the question is not a historical matter and its debate has significantly blurred the consideration of the historical facts.[36] Questions such as who supported Princip in his plot, who provided him with guns or bombs and to what an extent did the governments of Austria-Hungary and Serbia know about the conspiracy have been researched so extensively that I do not think I can add something new.[37] In this matter, I agree with Misha Glenny, who recalled the words of the British foreign secretary in 1914: "There is not, and never was, any person who knew all there was to know". [38] Therefore, this dissertation is no contribution to the

[35] Guido van Hengel, *De Dagen van Gavrilo Princip* (Amsterdam: Ambo, 2014).
[36] I agree with Max Hastings, who describes the Bosnian background of the war a "quirky little melodrama … that played the same role in the history of the world as might a wasp sting on a chronically ailing man who is maddened into abandoning a sickbed to devote his waning days to destroying the nest" and that "the events of that torrid day in Sarajevo exercise a fascination for posterity which must be indulged by any chronicler of 1914." Max Hastings, *Catastrophe 1914. Europe goes to War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), i-xxxvi: i. David MacKenzie wrote three books on the subject of the Black Hand and its tentacles in Bosnia. *Apis, the Congenial Conspirator: The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević* (New York: Boulder, 1989); Idem, *The "Black Hand" on Trial: Salonika, 1917*. (New York: Boulder, 1995); Idem, *The Exoneration of the "Black Hand"* (New York: Boulder, 1998). Another important work, unfortunately never translated, is: Borivoje Nešković, *Istina o Solunskom Procesu* (Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1953).
[37] In Serbian and Bosnian-Serbian historiography this issue is the recurring theme in many monographs of mixed quality: Željko Fajfrić, *Gavrilo Princip* (Ruma: Panonija, 2014), Milan Mijalkovski and Dušo Tomić, *Gavrilo Princip: Enigma srpsko-austrijskih špijunskih bitaka* (Pirot: Pi-Press, 2014), Radovan Drašković, *Pretorijanske težnje u Srbiji: Apis i Crna Ruka* (Belgrade: Žagor, 2005). Some articles in the internationally acclaimed Belgrade academic journal *Balkanica* give some more elaborate answers to the oh-so-well-known question of the connections between the Black Hand and Mlada Bosna. For example: Dušan Bataković, "Storm Over Serbia: The Rivalry between Civilian and Military Authorities (1911-1914)" *Balcanica*. (2013), 307-356: 324-32; Dragan Bakić, "Apis's men: The Black Hand conspirators after the Great War" *Balkanica* 46 (2015), 219-239.
[38] Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (New York: Viking, 2000), 304. Max Hastings writes how all scenarios are more or less evenly

historiographical tradition of *Kriegsschuldfrage*. Instead I will dust off the layers of (historical or historically inspired political) guilt, and will get to the original sources to find out what they can tell us. But there is another layer before I can reach there, and that is the layer of the contemporary outlook on the break-up of Yugoslavia.

Balkan History: Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav perspectives

It is apparent that Clark, as many other foreign historians, has been criticized in former Yugoslavia for misreading the local complexities of the Balkans. This critique is based on the insider/outsider-debate in the humanities: Are outsiders capable to discuss the history of the insiders?[39] The dichotomy between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is clearly artificial. However, language shapes the contrast in reality. In former Yugoslavia, "*naši*" (ours) and "*njihovi*" (theirs) are frequently used words in conversations.[40] There is a similar discourse in 'Western'

plausible in the prologue of his book *Catastrophe: Europe goes to War* (London: William Collins, 2013).

[39] An interesting example of something that could be perceived as an insider-outsider debate about Balkan history is the academic feud of the Croat historian Tvrtko Jakovina and his Croat-British colleague Marko Attila Hoare with Jeffrey Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, two scholars from Swansea University, who wrote a textbook about the contemporary history of the Balkans. See for the reviews, "Bideleux, R. and I. Jeffries, the Balkans: A Post-Communist History (London: 2007: Routledge). A Comment." *Southeastern Europe* 33.1 (2009): 135-139, and 140-146. The reaction: Robert Bideleux, "A Response to Marko Attila Hoare and Tvrtko Jakovina's Comments on The Balkans: A Post-Communist History" *Southeastern Europe* 33 (2009) 147-154.

[40] The construction of the "we" is a very important subject that has been addressed by several linguists and post-structuralist, but not that much by scholars in Slavic languages. Participating in a conference of scholars in Slavic languages and culture in Lviv (Ukraine) in June 2016 I discussed this matter with a large number of distinguished scholars, among them linguists and historians, and they concluded that no serious scholarly work has been written on the use of "mi" (we) in Slavic languages. An exception in this respect is: Andreas Ventsel, "The construction of the 'we'-category: Political rhetoric in Soviet Estonia from June 1940 to July 1941" *Sign Systems Studies* 35 issue 1/2 (2007), 249-266. Ventsel paraphrases the French linguist Émile Benveniste: "we is a very special kind of union that is based on the non-equivalence of the members: the we does not consist in a mechanical aggregation of different I-s but in the we there is always a dominant I (the subject of the utterance) and this I due to its transcendence subjects to itself a not-I which means that only through stepping out of itself it creates that we and thus determines the not-I". See:

expressions such as the 'people down there' or 'over there', marking the distance between two cultural realities. The idea of insiders and outsiders is topical in the Yugoslav successor states, so I consider it necessary to pay attention to some aspects of it. Therefore, in addition to the first broad perspective of a world war in world history, I discuss in the next pages the developments in local historiography and commemorative praxis.

The discourse of 'ours' and 'theirs', and the continuous switching of the definitions of heroes and villains, perpetrators and victims, dominates the history of Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav commemorations of "Young Bosnia".[41] This is reflected in the historical example of the monuments erected on the historical site. Directly after the assassination, the Austrians erected a very catholic monument commemorating the royal couple. This monument was destroyed by the Serbian army at the end of the First World War during the liberation – others would say 'occupation' – of Sarajevo. In the interwar period, a simple plaque was mounted in 1930, commemorating not the murdered royal couple, but Gavrilo Princip, who died a lonely death in a Bohemian prison in 1918. During the Second World War, the plaque commemorating Princip was removed by the Nazis and their allies and sent to Hitler in Berlin, apparently as a birthday present.[42] After 1945, in the federal socialist republic of Yugoslavia, the Young Bosnians were praised as heroes of socialist and Yugoslav unification. On the site of the assassination Tito's communists built a memorial site for Young Bosnia and opened a museum, displaying artefacts of the 'martyrs', thereby indoctrinating the Yugoslavs.[43] Gavrilo Princip's

---

Émile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale I* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 236-237.

[41] See my article: "Princip als palimpsest: De moordaanslag van 1914 in vijf lagen politieke herinnering" *Leidschrift* 28 (2013/3), p. 127-146. Another article about the same subject: Guido Snel, "The footsteps of Gavrilo Princip: The 1914 Sarajevo assault in fiction, history and three monuments" in: Marcel Cornis-Pope et. al. (eds.), *History of the literary cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th century* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub., 2004), 202-228.

[42] Muharem Bazdulj, "Srećan rođendan, gospodine Hitler!", *Vreme* 31/10/2013.

[43] Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *Victims at Sarajevo. The romance and tragedy of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie* (London: Harvill, 1984), 1-4.

footmarks were laid into the concrete, as a symbolic reference.[44] During the civil wars of the 1990s the historical judgment on the Young Bosnian movement changed, and Gavrilo Princip was no longer seen as a hero. For most non-Serbian Bosnians he became a distant predecessor of the soldiers in the hills surrounding Sarajevo, firing at innocent civilians trying to cross the 'sniper alley'. The monument was demolished, and later removed. Today, a new plaque rememorizes the fatal moment. The text on the plaque is neutral, because the political and ethnic situation in post-conflict Bosnia is still precarious. In the post-Dayton era, Young Bosnians are seen by some Serbs as heroes and by some Croats and Bosniaks as villains. However, many Serbs are not sure whether Princip was a Serbian or a Yugoslav hero – even though a combination of those was, in the historical context, quite common.

Pendulum

Clearly the historical image of Young Bosnia is swinging between black and white, victims and perpetrators, heroes and villains. A "grey" in-between zone in the interpretation is rare. The possible cause of this has to do with the communist tradition of history-writing (and propaganda), in which the past was put in the light of Marxist dialectics and class struggle. In Titoist Yugoslav variations on Marxism, the eternal fight between anti-fascists ('us') and fascists ('them') was a daily life mantra. The academic world was not entirely neutral to the pressure of communist propaganda. After the death of Tito and the break-up of Yugoslavia some historians kept on living in the 'culture of lies'.[45] To a certain extent the tone of the communist propaganda did not fade away and the eternal *contra-revolutionary* enemy was replaced by a *national* enemy. The way these enemies were depicted in new historical studies had a lot in common with communist political reality. So, the trio *War/Revolution/Party* was replaced by a dominant focus on the *Nation*.[46] Revisionists chose to rewrite the communist triumphant

[44] Miljenko Jergović, "Stope", *Vreme* 26/06/2004, 37-39.
[45] Dubravka Ugrešić coined the Yugoslav 'culture of lies' in: *Kultura laži* (Zagreb: Arkzin, 1996).
[46] Predrag J. Marković, Miloš Ković en Nataša Milicević, "Developments in Serbian historiography since 1989" in: Ulf Brunnbauer (ed.), *(Re)Writing history:*

history narratives into fragmented stories in which former villains became heroes and vice versa. In the 1990s, evildoers from the Second World War were again the subject of discussions and sometimes even rehabilitated. This happened with the *Četniks* (nationalist monarchists) and *Nedićevi* (Nazi collaborators) in Serbia, the fascist *Ustaša* in Croatia and some other groups (*Handžar-SS* in Bosnia, Slovenian collaborators) who had played a role in the Second World War. At the same time nationalist historians redefined the role of Tito's communist partisans. This was at first an academic affair, but when politicians joined the gamble on the role of perpetrators and victims, the situation became dangerous. Presidents Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman's 'return to history' and their violent revisionism of the Yugoslav wars have been widely discussed and have become topical issues for research throughout the last two decades.[47] Some of the post-Yugoslav states have developed their own versions of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, with the familiar stress on guilt, suffering, victimhood, and national trauma.

Enter Young Bosnia. The movement has been one of the issues in the memory debates during the time of transition. I would even claim that Young Bosnia, and more particularly Gavrilo Princip as central figure, became one of the most sensitive topics in the 20th century post-Yugoslav *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Before, the group of confused activists that came to be known as Young Bosnia, was seen through the ideological prism as a proto-socialist movement, as so-called frontrunners of the revolution. This changed. Now the ideological prism was replaced by a national prism: Was Gavrilo Princip a Serb, a Yugoslav, a Bosnian? Questions like this were often raised. Historical and cultural figures of the Yugoslav 20th century, such as the writers Ivo Andrić, Meša Selimović and Miroslav Krleža, the rock-bands Azra

Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism (Münster: Lit, 2004), 276-316: 294.

[47] See, for example: Todor Kuljić, *Prevladanje Prošlošti: Uzroci i pravci promene slike istorije krajem XX veka* (Beograd: Helsinki Odbor za Ljudske Prave, 2002).

and Bijelo Dugme and the partisans including Tito himself, were distributed among the - now - national histories.[48]

In today's post-Yugoslav historiographical landscape still a contrast exists between nationalist historians on one hand, who express nationalist ideas in patriotic books, and – on the other hand – the historians who claim to be open to new social, anthropological insights and methods.[49] The dichotomy between these two groups of historians is perceived, albeit falsely, as one between Europe and the Balkans. In the eyes of the nationalist historians, those who do not defend the interests of the nation are 'European' or 'internationalist' and therefore suspect. It often works the other way round as well: historians who do not immediately criticize the country are marked as 'nationalists' and will not be taken seriously by the self-acclaimed 'internationalists'. These quarrels between historians are present in all post-Yugoslav countries, but are especially visible in the academic circles of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia.

Unfortunately, the living standards in the states that derived after the fall of Yugoslavia are still disquieting, especially in Bosnia.[50] Hence, research is suffering from this, and funding often provokes controversies. The mutual mistrust between nationalists and internationalists is often based on the presumption that the other is writing ideas which are dictated either in Belgrade governmental circles, or in Western media. There is little hope for a fast improvement. Around the centennial of the outbreak of the First World War the

---

[48] Mitja Velikonja, "Titostalgia: On the post-Yugoslav cognitive map" in: Daniel Šuber and Slobodan Karamanić (eds.), *Retracing Images: Visual Culture after Yugoslavia* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 283-312.

[49] More on Ex-Yugoslav historiography: Todor Kuljić et. al. (eds.), *The Balkan Rachomon. Historiography and literature on dissolution of SFRY* (Belgrado: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2002); Predrag Marković en Nataša Milićević, "Serbian historiography in the times of transition: A struggle for legitimacy" *Istorija XX Veka* 15 (2007/1), 145-167; Nebojša Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* 2nd. ed. (Belgrade: Samizdat, 2002).

[50] In February 2014, protesters against the Federal Government's social policy set ablaze the state archive in the city center of Sarajevo. Many sources from both Ottoman and Habsburg times were lost in the fire. Another problem is the maintenance of the *Zemaljski Muzej* (National Museum), one of the most interesting academic institutes of Bosnia and the region. Due to financial problems the museum, including the very important library, was closed in 2012. In 2015 it newly reopened.

differences in the perception of history were seen in the fight over memory culture between Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, and Austrians.[51] In the Serbian part of Sarajevo a statue was built to honor Gavrilo Princip, while in the non-Serbian parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina people rather wished to remember the tragedy of Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. The controversial film-director Emir Kusturica organized several re-enactment events and similar festivities to commemorate Young Bosnia as a good Bosnian-Serb organization in history.

All in all, it became once again clear the local and regional perspectives on the historic events of June 1914 and its prelude and aftermath are strongly biased by the traumas of Yugoslavia's bitter 20th century. One will have to dig deep in order to get to the authentic layer. To do so, I will shift now from (geo)political biases and cultural memories and traumas to plain history writing.

Gavrilo Princip history

The local historiography of the Sarajevo assassination in the interwar period and after the Second World War consists of a long list of politically motivated works of mixed quality. Some of these publications are useful to this day, such as Veselin Masleša's Marxist analysis of the Young Bosnian movement, published in 1945.[52] Other books are the 1929 *The Struggle of Bosnia and Hercegovina for Liberation and Unification*, edited by the 'insider' Pero Slijepčević, and the readable yet obviously biased triptych by another 'insider' called Drago Ljubibratić. He wrote *Gavrilo Princip* (1959), *Vladimir Gaćinović* (1961) and *Young Bosnia and the Sarajevo Assault* (1964).[53]

---

[51] See, for example: Paul Hockenos, "World War I Conference in Sarajevo divides Scholars" *New York Times* 22 June 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/23/world/europe/world-war-i-conference-in-sarajevo-divides-scholars.html?_r=0 (accessed May 2016). Elvira Jukic, "Bosnia marks centenary of Sarajevo Assassination" *Balkan Insight* 28 June 2014. http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bosnia-commemorates-centenary-of-sarajevo-assassination (accessed May 2016).

[52] Veselin Masleša, *Mlada Bosna* (Sarajevo: Izd. Pr. Veselin Masleša, 1964), first ed. 1945.

[53] Pero Slijepčević (ed.), *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobodenje i ujedinjenje* (Sarajevo: Narodna Odbrana, 1929); Drago Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip* (Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1959); Idem *Vladimir Gaćinović* (Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1961); Idem, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski Atentat* (Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1964).

However, there is one book that stands out in historiography, which is the magnum opus of Vladimir Dedijer, Yugoslav journalist, ex-partisan fighter, hagiographer, historian and dissident writer.[54] This book about the background of the Sarajevo outrage was more than just an inquiry into the responsibility of the assassination. The English version, which was published in the United States, had no less than 550 pages, while the Yugoslav second edition was two times thicker, as lots of primary sources were included in thousands of footnotes.[55] Although at that time already much had been written on the subject, *The Road to Sarajevo* was to become the ultimate book on the subject. In reviews of the 1960s

[54] Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966). Dedijer was born into an educated Herzegovinian family in Belgrade in 1914. Both his father and uncle were closely related to some of the "Young Bosnians". As a student he wrote for newspapers such as the Belgrade-based daily *Politika* and writing activities brought him to Poland, France and Spain, where he witnessed the civil war. By that time, he was already working for the forbidden communist party and had become a close acquaintance of the future partisan leader Josip Broz. Dedijer turned one of the leading intellectual figures in the postwar socialist federation. His hagiographic book on Tito was translated into more than fifty languages. In the 1950s, however, Dedijer fell from grace. As a journalist, he defended the freedom of speech of the dissident writer Milovan Djilas, who had criticized Tito's leadership. For some years he stayed as *persona non grata* in Belgrade, but after the tragic suicide of his son Branko, he left the country and started teaching at faculties in Scandinavia, England and in the United States. In the 1980s, after Tito's death, he published three extensive books on the 'human side' of Tito, in which he added new, not necessarily positive aspects, to the hagiography about the Yugoslav leader he had published in the 1950s. The books were widely read, but also strongly criticized by the Party. On the eve of the civil war, in 1990, he died in the United States. According to his wish, the urn of his ashes was buried in his troubled homeland Yugoslavia, in today's Slovenian capital Ljubljana.
Dedijer remained a controversial figure even after his death. Few would deny his writing skills and investigative talents, but most of his books had provoked affairs and he had many enemies during his life. In a personal conversation I had with the late Serbian literary scholar Predrag Palavestra, he said about his former colleague: "He knew exactly how to find the ingredients in the kitchen, but he did not really know how to cook." Indeed, some of Dedijer's books are hard to digest and suffer from an overload of information, confusing perspective and lack of organization of the source material. However, the book on the Sarajevo outrage, is, because of the narrative it discusses (a murder plot story), relatively compact and concise.
No biography of Vladimir Dedijer is written yet, but some biographical outlines can be found in: Milo Gligorijević, *Rat i Mir Vladimira Dedijera* (Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1985). The books about Tito are: Vladimir Dedijer, *Josip Broz Tito: Prilozi za Biografiju* (Zagreb: Kultura, 1953); Idem, *Novi Prilozi za Biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* (Rijeka: Liburnija, 1981-1984).
[55] Vladimir Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914* (Belgrade: Prosvjeta, 1978 [1966]).

many stated that Dedijer did not bring many new facts about the history of the assassination, but, nevertheless, it was his thoroughness that made this book an instant classic.[56] Looking at the historiography on Young Bosnia since 1966, Dedijer's work had a durable impact. Some books, which were published later, were almost completely based on the findings of *The Road to Sarajevo*. Dedijer's monopoly on the history of Young Bosnia is, however, problematic. In conversations with historians in former Yugoslavia it seems that everyone has an opinion on the Dedijer masterpiece, but few have written serious academic critiques to counter some of the statements he makes.[57] One objection to Dedijer was articulated by the Dutch scholar Guido Snel.[58] He concluded that Dedijer's writing, deliberate or not, was following the Yugo-Marxist discourse. The story of Gavrilo Princip as a primitive rebel, standing up against the evil Austrian occupation, centers on two competing perspectives: the magnificent impact of the deeds of one individual actor on the course of history and the Hegelian understanding of "progress through struggle" – an idealist notion adopted by Karl Marx and turned into a materialist paradigm.[59] Aspects of the Marxist perspective on the past are reflected in Dedijer's statement that Young Bosnia was not only representing the Bosnian youth of the early 20th century, but also the South-Slavic peoples of the Balkans, who had suffered not for decades, but for centuries under foreign (Austrian/Turkish) occupation. Dedijer apparently prefers to depict the

[56] One reviewer stated the book is "the definitive book on the subject". "The Road to Sarajevo by Vladimir Dedijer (Review) by Dragoš D. Kostich" *The American Historical Review*, 72 (1967/2), 570-571. In the Austrian press: "Ein fundamentales Werk" (*Wiener Zeitung* 16/12/1967) but also: „Dass es in konservativen österreichischen Kreisen und bei den Habsburg-Traditionalisten kaum Gefallen finden wird, ist verständlich." (*Volksstimme* 3/3/1968).

[57] The most cited critique on Dedijer is: Friedrich Würthle, *Die Spur führt nach Belgrad. Die Hintergründe des Dramas von Sarajevo 1914* (Vienna/Munich: Fritz Molden, 1975).

[58] Snel, "The footsteps of Gavrilo Princip", 202-228.

[59] Dedijer describes the Young Bosnians as 'primitive rebels' but does not refer to the famous study of Eric Hobsbawm with the same title (*Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*). Hobsbawm's book came out in 1965, one year before the first edition of *The Road to Sarajevo* was published. In the Serbo-Croat translation of the original English version the primitive rebels are called 'iskonski buntovnici' which is a slightly different phrase, that can be translated as 'pristine', 'primordial' or 'authentic' rebels.

Young Bosnians as protosocialists instead of socialists, which makes them exponents of the linear historical development, leading eventually to the Titoist revolution and liberation of the South Slavic proletariat. Dedijer's approach cannot be separated from his bombastic writing style. Not many historians have criticized Dedijer for his eloquently expressed antipathy for the victim and sympathy for the assassin, though Snel does remark on the novelist style in specific parts of the book, such as in the first chapter. It was the Austrian archivist Friedrich Würthle who criticizes Dedijer most explicitly on his writing style. He wrote, sarcastically:

> "All in all, *The Road to Sarajevo* has created more confusion than clarity. The author has provided us with an enormous number of varicolored, exciting and interesting details but not with anything of fundamental importance. *The Road to Sarajevo* is stuff for a movie, perhaps even for a musical comedy. An entertaining movie could be made from it: The death at Sarajevo as a heroic Bosnian epic, a modern Gessler legend in pictures and music, or perhaps Sultan Murad in the guise of Francis Ferdinand and Princip in that of the knight of Obilić, or something similar – something with a gimmick that catches the public eye. Dedijer is the ideal man to write the script." [60]

[60] Fritz Würthle, "Review of: Vladimir Dedijer "The Road to Sarajevo"" *Austrian History Yearbook* 4 (1968) 491-497: 497.
It is disappointing Friedrich Würthle's style is also sentimental and emotional. Especially the continuous use of rhetorical question makes his book barely readable. Würthle's irritation, not to say fury, about the assassination of Franz Ferdinand weakens the reliability of his work. Besides, he disqualified himself in an interview for the *Rheinische Merkur* in which he stated that Princip was some kind of predecessor of Hitler because he was also against the monarchy, the church, and a strong supporter of nationalism. Additionally, Würthle claims that Princip was part of groups "where they hated jews", a statement for which no evidence can be found in the source material. In sum, Würthle is in the end no less subjective than Dedijer, which is the reason why his book *Die Spur führt nach Belgrad*, although it is admittedly in some parts a serious piece of research, could not and did not replace *The Road to Sarajevo*.
See: Kriegsarchiv Wien - B964 – Nachlass Friedrich Würthle – 258: "Die Schüsse von Sarajevo – die frühfaschistischen Motive des Attentats" *Rheinischer Merkur* 26/06/1964.

Würthle sure exaggerated, but there is no question about it that *The Road to Sarajevo* has served as a source for artistic and literary representations. Novels about Gavrilo Princip show Dedijer's influence. In 1974 the American novelist Hans Koning wrote a novel about Gavrilo Princip, which was turned into a film by the Austrian director Peter Patzak.[61] Koning portrays Princip as a tragic hero and explains his deeds in the light of the centuries of suffering of the South Slavic peoples. Austrian writer Milo Dor's novel *Der letzte Sonntag* includes references to the book of Dedijer.[62] Not only in TV-series and films, Princip is also the subject of songs, theatre plays and expressions of pop-culture.[63] Considering the effect Dedijer has had on arts and culture, I think his book definitely stimulated the construction of a Princip-myth, not only in communist Yugoslavia but also in the rest of the world. In recent years some travelogues and reportages were published about Princip, among them Tim Butcher's *The Trigger*, Tony Fabijancic's *Bosnia: In the Footsteps of Gavrilo Princip* and Gregor Mayer's *Verschwörung in Sarajevo*.[64] In all these works, Dedijer's influence is very visible and recognizable.

---

[61] Hans Koning, *Death of a Schoolboy* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovićh, 1974).

[62] Milo Dor, *Der letzte Sonntag: Bericht über das Attentat von Sarajewo* (Vienna: Amalthea, 1982). See also: Katherine Arens, "Beyond Vienna 1900: Habsburg Identities in Central Europe" in: Marcel Cornis-Pope et. al. (eds.), *History of the literary cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th century* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub., 2004), 216-228: 225-228.

[63] For example: Biljana Srbljanovic, *Princip: Dieses Grab ist mir zu klein*. Schauspielhaus Wien, October 2013; Warme Winkel, *Gavrilo Princip*. Holland Festival. Amsterdam, June 2014. In 2014 and 2015 some comics' books were published about Princip. Henrik Rehr, a Danish illustrator wrote: *Terrorist: Gavrilo Princip who ignited World War I* (Minneapolis: Graphic Universe, 2015). In France: Michaël Le Galli and Héloret, *J'ai tué François Ferdinand Archiduc d'Autriche* (Grenoble: Vents d'Ouest, 2015). I myself was personally involved as a scenario-researcher in the comics' book project of Serbian underground artist Boris Stanić: *Atentat: S one strane patnje* (Zemun: Besna Kobila, 2015).

[64] Tim Butcher, *The Trigger: Hunting the Assassin Who Brought the World to War* (New York: Grove Press, 2014); Tony Fabijančić, *Bosnia: In the Footsteps of Gavrilo Princip* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2010); Gregor Mayer, *Verschwörung in Sarajevo: Triumph und Tod des Attentäters Gavrilo Princip* (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2014). The international Princip-myth was analyzed in: Slobodan Markovich, "Anglo-American Views of Gavrilo Princip" *Balkanica* 46 (2015), 273-314.

For this dissertation I decided to not entirely rely on Dedijer's book and instead to go back to the primary sources, partly or totally unknown to western readers. Dedijer, deliberate or not, has blurred some of the historical realities. Therefore, I also aim to avoid discussing the almost mythical figure of (Dedijer's) Gavrilo Princip. In order to examine the social and cultural circumstances of the student networks it is necessary to switch the focus from the world-famous yet mythological assassin to other similar, likeminded, related persons. Therefore Princip, in this research, is perceived as a *normal exception*: he was an exceptional murderer, but an ordinary 19-year old schoolboy.[65] In other words, the research will concentrate on his environments, not the world of international plotters, but first and foremost the student circles of early 20th century Austro-Hungarian Bosnia.

This shift from "Gavrilo Princip" to broader social and intellectual circles of young Bosnian students is not only to be found in this dissertation. I consider my research a contribution to a very recent development in research on "Mlada Bosna". In 2015, the historian Edin Hajdarpašić addressed the meaning of being young within the context of the Bosnian student movements in one chapter of his monograph *Whose Bosnia?*, about nationalism and political imagination in the 19th century.[66] In Serbia, Miloš Vojinović published a study about the political ideas of the young Bosnian student activist not necessarily connected to Princip & Co.[67] Still, both books merely focus on questions of national identity, whereas this dissertation elaborates especially on social and cultural interactions and connections in the educational realm.

---

[65] The 'normal exception' is a notion I borrowed from the microhistorians. See: Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or three things that I know about it" *Critical Inquiry* (1993) 10-35; Jürgen Schlumbohn (ed.) *Mikrogeschichte-Makrogeschichte. Komplementär oder inkommensurabel?* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2000); Matti Paltonen, "Clues, Margins and Monads: The micro-macro link in historical research" *History and theory* 40 (2001/3) 347-359; Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, "The Limits of Representativeness: Biography, Life Writing and Microhistory" *Storia Della Storiografia* 59-60 (2011), 32-42.

[66] Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans 1840-1914* (Ithaca N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2015).

[67] Miloš Vojinović, *Političke Ideje Mlada Bosne* (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 2015).

1.2 Present research: Young Bosnian student networks

By shifting away from the predominant "national" approach to the Bosnian student movements I will in this dissertation refer to several theories and studies that have been influential in research into social movements and subcultures. Pioneer sociologists, such as Georg Simmel and Robert Park, tried to "capture moments" in order to understand the formation and interaction of groups - not necessarily young groups, but still groups in a predominantly urban environment.[68] The present research revolves around these sociological concepts like "urban environment" and the "forming of groups". Hence, I add the notion of "youth". Therefore, in my research I make use of methodological frameworks of a) social networks and social movements, and b) youth and subculture studies. The first framework helps me to map the social networks of the Bosnian student movements ("quantity"), while the second framework can provide insight in the way how these networks are put into stories, in other words: how meaning is imbued in networks ("quality").

Networks

Charles Tilly, whose writings have influenced at least two generations of scholars in the social sciences, has offered important insights into the research of acts of rebellion and protest. He has paid special attention to urbanization, demographic changes and how they create political

[68] Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and mental Life" in: Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (eds.), *The Blackwell City Reader* (Malden: Wiley and Sons, 2010), 103-110. Originally published in 1930; Robert Ezra Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of human Behavior in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967 [1925]); Shane Blackman, "Youth Subcultural Theory: A Critical Engagement with the Concept, its Origins and Politics, from the Chicago School to Postmodernism", *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8:1 (2005), 1-20:3.

opportunities.[69] The opportunities created in the process of urbanization and political change were – according to Tilly – the cause of the eruption of resistance, which eventually created the circumstances in which the French Revolution could take place. This polity-centered approach became central in the *political opportunity* analysis in the social sciences.

In my research I take inspiration from the works of Charles Tilly and his research on *social movements*. Tilly distinguished a social movement, when there is a "sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment".[70] It is, as I have argued earlier, a fallacy to perceive Young Bosnia as a coherent organization with a continuous and compact ideology. Instead, it can better be described as a loose *network* of small groups of youngsters who presented themselves in both peaceful and violent performances. So, to return to Tilly, Young Bosnia was no social movement. However, some of Tilly's definitions ring true for the student networks to be discussed: there is a "challenge to power holders" and "repeated displays" albeit not entirely in the name of the total population under the jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Tilly's definition, as is the case for all definitions, can neither be entirely correct nor wrong, but it can be useful. In the present discussion Young Bosnia is not seen as a 'social movement', but I will use Tilly's definition and concept as a tool in identifying the position of the students' activities and rebellious atmosphere in the political context of Bosnia in the early 20th century society. Then, youth culture is seen here as a context of political learning.[71]

---

[69] These ideas were articulated for the first time in his 1964 book *The Vendée*, which is an analysis of rural social movements in pre-revolutionary France: Charles Tilly, *The Vendee* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1964).

[70] Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 257.

[71] This sentence is inspired by the title of an article by Nicolle Pfaff who wrote about the contemporary socialization processes in youth culture in correlation with political activity: "Youth Culture as a Context of Political Learning" *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 17.2 (2009), 167-189.

The central interest in this research is *the network*. I have centered my research on the interplay, or the 'dance', between the different players (states, governments, individuals, informal groups, formal organizations, etc.) and their interests, values, intuitions and strategies. I follow players like those in powers, the participants in the social movement and the population on whose behalf the participants in the social movement acted (or claimed to act).[72] But there can be many other players. One has to consider all ties between the propagandists for the South Slavic, respectively Serbian case in Bosnia, the politicians, the journalists who wrote about them, student associations and other movements who supported them, secretly or publicly.

Networks, also larger ones, are kept together by close ties. Tilly's colleague and pupil Doug McAdam stressed the importance of personal ties in the recruitment and participation in social movements. In his famous article on the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964, he identified a correlation between intimate personal ties and high-risk activity in the social movement.[73] Today, in social movement research, it is accepted that prior social settings of already existing interpersonal ties are the locus of a movement emergence.[74]

Florence Passy explained that research into social networks supplies insight into the process of individual participation in movements.[75] She formulated three important functions of the social network and how it influences the process of individual participation. These functions are: 1) the socialization function, 2) the structural connection function and 3) the decision shaping function.

I have decided to make use of the three functions of social networks, as formulated by Passy, in structuring my dissertation argument: Part I&II revolve around the subject of *socialization*, III&IV&V are about he coalition building and *structural connections*

---

[72] Giugni, *How Social Movements Matter*, 257.
[73] Doug McAdam, "The Biographical Consequences of Activism" *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989) 744-760.
[74] Mario Diani, "Social Movements, Contentious Actions and Social Networks: From Metaphor to Substance" in: Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 1-14:6.
[75] Florence Passy, "Social Networks matter: But how?" in: Diani et. al., *Social Movements*, 21-48: 22.

and VI, eventually, is about the *decision shaping function* of networks in small groups and movements. In what follows I will explain the main sub-questions and points of interests per part.

So, once more, part I and II ("Schools" and "Reading Rooms") are about the socialization function of the personal network of young pupils at the gymnasium of Sarajevo and Mostar. The main focus is on the Bosnian context. In this part of my dissertation I describe growing networks of Bosnia during the Habsburg period. The fragile intellectual milieu of the early 20th century gymnasiums of Sarajevo and Mostar was connected with the universities of Central Europe and Serbia through pioneering intellectuals. In describing these networks, I focus on some individual friends (close ties) at the gymnasium of Mostar. The group of friends include, among others, Bosnian writers and intellectuals such as Dimitrije Mitrinović, Vladimir Gaćinović, and Petar Kočić. The school, in this case the gymnasium of Mostar, is the locus of a process where the network – temporarily – stabilizes: the regular gatherings of the protagonists in cultural institutes mean a stabilization of a network, a phase preceding something we can call the institutionalization. The different networks were formed at school. The Austrian authorities put the pupils in multi-ethnic classrooms, where they were categorized with one or the other religious group.[76]

Part III ("Universities") examines the structural connection function of the network and how the first pioneering group of gymnasium pupils did connect with different groups in others schools in Bosnia, Croatia and even in more distant regions such as Serbia, Switzerland and Bohemia. This part focuses rather on the European context. Around 1900 a lot of pupils started to establish literary and political associations. A good example was the Serbo-Croat literary association, led by the Bosnian gymnasium pupil Ivo Andrić and his friend Miloš Pjanić. In a dynamic interplay between authorities and

[76] Additionally to Passy's work I will make use of the ideas of social network theoretician Harrison White who wrote the influential handbook *Identity and Control*, in which he analyzed the meaning of identity in the process of social action. Both the first and second version will be used: Harrison C. White, *Identity and Control: How Social Formations Emerge* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Idem, *Identity and Control: A structural Theory of Social Action* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

subalterns, students and police, the rebellion developed from adolescent daydreaming into political reality. I address these issues by researching the networks of students' groups. The question is to what extent these groups were really connected to each other and – if they were – in what way? One does not need much imagination to see the coalition-making process in the names of the different youth movements: Serbo-Croat Progressive Association, the Croatian progressives, the Serbian Youth, the Croatian youth, etc.[77]

Part IV ("Bazarov in Bosnia") and V ("The Educators") also address connections, but from a more cultural-historical perspective. In the fourth part I analyze how connections and cultural infrastructures enhanced the cultural transfer of revolutionary ideas from Italy and – particularly – from tsarist Russia. In Part V I analyze ideas and ideologies as articulated in the youth periodicals that were published in Prague, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Vienna. The title of the fifth part does ("The Educators") refer to a turn in almost all movements: at a certain moment in time the followers become the new leaders, as soon as they feel the need to share and spread their learnings themselves.

In the last part, Part VI ("The Assassins"), I consider to what extent networks intensified the decision-making process and how they enabled the conversion of participation into actual action. This part focuses on the individual and interpersonal context of the movement. I will pay special attention to the aspect of risk. Some students radicalized on the eve of the First World War and some individual

[77] This coalition-making process is best reflected in a letter Gavrilo Princip wrote to his friend in Prague. There he describes how different Serbian factions, as well as Croat youth-groups in Sarajevo collaborate, fight and finally merge into each other.The letter goes like: "As you know we have two movements, the National Serbs and the Progressives. […] This year we organized a first common meeting. I did not attend this meeting, but I learned what issues were discussed: What is the shared goal? They came up with two suggestions. One was made by the group around Miloš Pjanić, which aimed for a national progressive collaboration. The other suggestion was to found another, more literary and intellectual group. The Pjanić program states "All Slavs can become a member". One group distanced itself from Pjanić and his pan-Slavic ideas and started a radical-nationalistic program […]. After one month […] it was suggested to merge our organization with the Croats – just as you had suggested before. But because there were no Croat progressives and there was no organization fitting our ideas, so nothing came out of it." Letter Gavrilo Princip to Marko Maglov, April 17 1912. In: Vojislav Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954), 130-132.

actors, such as Gavrilo Princip, decided to take up arms against the Austrian authorities. The terrorist wave of the years 1912-1914 will be examined as a case, showing how networks influenced the *decision making process*.

Semiotic power of networks

As a historian, I tend to analyze the networks in a *qualitative* manner too. This means, that the narrative of the network is as important as the network itself. Answering the question how historical actors interact in a social or public space does not necessarily give insight in the *meaning* of those networks. In the field of youth studies and subculture studies, it is common to see networks in daily practice as very much "imagined", some even speak of a "myth".[78] This could be compared with the notion of a generation: children are born every day and everywhere so any particular generation can hardly be characterized in time and space. However, we still tend to speak of the "Generation of 1968" or the "Generation of 1914". The subjective experience of events, such as the Paris revolts or the First World War, give some persons in an age cohort a feeling of belonging in time - and in a generation. Then, this generation still has to be constructed and imagined in discursive practice. Similarly, youth subcultures, with all its political and cultural meaning, are constructed and created in language. Shane Blackman concluded this as follows: "[…] youth subculture possesses immense semiotic power for communication. As an intellectual field, subculture promotes sameness of identity through consumption but also holds the potential to critically and politically impact on consciousness."[79]

In the sociological sub-discipline of "Youth Studies" debates are on-going about the role of transitions (in a social-psychological context) on one side and the cultural meanings (in a social-political

[78] See, for example: Patricia Meyer Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea: Myths of Youth and the Adult Imagination* (London: Faber & Faber, 1982), 228; Mike Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures* (London: Routlegde and Kegan Paul, 1980), 16-18; Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London and New York: Methuan, 1979), 136.

[79] Shane Blackman, "Youth Subcultural Theory: A Critical Engagement with the Concept, its Origins and Politics, from the Chicago School to Postmodernism", *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8:1 (2005), 1-20:2.

context) on the other side.[80] All schools have found a common ground in acknowledging that "real youthfulness" is quite often "imagined youthfulness" that, in turn, creates and constructs realities. John Neubauer has convincingly argued that the imagining of adolescence did not only reflect its emergence as a middle-class phenomenon but also helped to *shape* its construction.[81] In short: Life imitated art/text. Hence, the networks that I will describe in what follows, can be read as a text: the student's subculture is a creative force that is enveloped in style ("lifestyle"), symbols, and rituals of political participation.

1.3 Focal points

In sum, the dominant perspectives in research into the young Bosnian networks have been, on a global scale, the First World War question of war guilt, and, in a local context, the break-up of Yugoslavia. It is important both for me as it is for the reader to understand the implications and importance of the past perspectives on the subject. For example, most books on Young Bosnia are written in the light of the road to the First World War and the *Kriegsschuldfrage* - two hindsight biases I have decribed in this introduction. Additionally, the more contemporary nationalist-internationalist controversies about the break-up of Yugoslavia must be taken into account when reading local historiography. To return to the question raised in the beginning of this introduction: what is there still to explain about Mlada Bosna? This question can be answered with the argument that the time has come to analyze the history of the young Bosnian networks in a context not necessarily related to the *Krieggschuldfrage* or the Yugoslav identity. It must be explained as a history of young people, of a consequence of educational policy, in Europe's turbulent and colonial periphery.

The aim of this dissertation project is therefore to give an accurate account of the social networks of young Bosnian students. The two main questions to address revolve around the *network itself*, and the *meaning of it*. They are: 1) What networks of Bosnian students did

[80] Andy Furlong, *Youth Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[81] John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 204-209.

exist and how did they evolve into movements? 2) How do we account the ideas and deeds of the young Bosnian student networks?

The answers to these question can shine some light on views of the subaltern Bosnian students on the relatively positive developments of the Bosnian society as a whole at the turn of the century. In fact, the violent attacks of Bosnian-Serb students in Sarajevo took place in the *Belle Époque* of Bosnia, when social and cultural ties were reinforced between the Balkans and Central Europe, between cultural elites in the European upper-classes as well as between social movements – such as youth movements - everywhere. Apparently these young and educated, meaning those who benefited from the rapid progress, felt a disturbing and striking ambivalence towards the newly industrialized world and its rulers. Up to now, most historians have unsuccessfully tried to define the ideological orientation of the Young Bosnians, while others have eagerly searched for evidence of a local Serbian conspiracy against the Austrian empire. Instead I will concentrate on how Young Bosnians accessed their literary and educational sources of inspiration and how they formed their social networks.

Sometimes one detailed close-up can be of primary importance in understanding the whole storyline of a film, even more than the long- and high-angle shots. In this book I intend to offer a detailed close-up of the short-lived student networks, in order to make the history of early 20th Century European peripheries somewhat comprehensible. The present study will contribute to the research into youth cultures, and political action in peripheries, where rapid developments in urbanization, industrialization, emancipation and education have had a tremendous impact on society. As we can see in our times in the Global South, as for example in China, India and Africa, these developments have startling, and often challenging consequences, which need to be studied. Historical and geographical comparative studies can offer some important insights in patterns which might be valuable for analyzing similar patterns in our times. Additionally, I hope this study will also contribute to the research of educational history, social networks and, perhaps, early 20th century social movements.

Part I: Schools

> *"The foreigners, brought to Bosnia by the Austrians, created a Babelian speech confusion, into which we, as wondering indigenous children, have fallen."* – Borivoje Jevtić

Introduction: children

When Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia in 1908, the yearbook of the Austro-Hungarian public *gymnasium* in Sarajevo contained the following passage:

> The 7th of October meant a day of happiness and new life for the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina. That day His Imperial and Royal Highness Franz Joseph I, our merciful ruler, poured his grace over us and put us under its mighty wings and pressed us to his warm, fatherly heart, as a loved one to his many loving and loyal peoples.[1]

I adhere to this remarkable Austro-Hungarian notion of the Emperor as a father to more fully understand the hegemonic *and* subaltern discourses in the Bosnian context. The particularly generational discourse was taken over and developed further by the very cultures and peoples meant to be subordinated. For example: Young Bosnian writer Borivoje Jevtić declared that the Austrians had "created a Babelian speech confusion, into which we, as wondering indigenous children, have fallen."[2]

Part I's title thus refers to the educational policies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which instituted an educational program that aimed to "mold" Bosnian "children" into loyal Austro-Hungarian citizens. Education policy, therefore, was also upbringing policy. The research in this part is focused on the question how and why schools enhanced

[1] Arhiv BiH - *Petnaesti Godišnji Izveštaj Trgovačke Škole u Sarajevu za Školske Godine 1908/1909* (Sarajevo 1909), 30-31.
[2] Borivoje Jevtić, cited in: Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter. Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf* (Munich: L. Jevtić, 1976), 47.

the participation of a new generation of students in the Bosnian public sphere. In this part, as in almost all parts of this dissertation, I focus primarily on the Serb community of Bosnia. The part is divided in two sets of chapters. The first set of chapters ("Identifying Bosnia") analyze the broad sociopolitical and cultural background of Bosnia around 1900; those of the second set ("Students' Subculture") examine the education policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Bosnia.

1.1 Identifying Bosnia

Historical introduction

For centuries Bosnia was an Ottoman border region. After the French Revolution, and throughout the nineteenth century, progressive reforms such as the Nizam-i-Cedid [New Order] and later the Tanzimat (1831-71) were instituted in Istanbul - far from Bosnia. Especially the latter reform can be seen as a pivotal moment in the restructuring process of the Ottoman Empire.[3] Surprisingly, the Tanzimat aimed at reforming the Ottoman agrarian system in favor of the serfs. The oppressive Bosnian *begs*, indifferent to these developments in distant Istanbul, consolidated their power base. Therefore, in 1850, the Sublime Porte sent the ruthless general Omer Paša Latas and his army to restore Ottoman order in Bosnia. This campaign resulted in a civil war between the Tanzimat armies of Paša Latas and the forces of the local, traditional Bosnian *begs*. The campaign meant the start of a period of chaos in the Bosnian borderland. Fearing new wars, many *begs*, *aga's*, free peasants, and also some *kmets* (serfs) fled to other parts of the Empire, such as Anatolia and North Africa.[4]

The Scottish travel writer Georgina MacKenzie observed how Omer Paša had "trampled" Bosnia, and her friend and travel companion

[3] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: Tauris, 2004), 50-71; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 413-47; Eelco Hooijmaaijers, "Het Ottomaanse Rijk. De zieke man van Europa?" in: Nienke de Deugd, Sipke de Hoop en Stefan van der Poel (eds.), *Perspectieven op Midden- en Oost-Europa* (Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2011), 31-53.
[4] Galib Šljivo, *Omer Paša Latas u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850-1852* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost 1977), 164-76.

Adeline Irby wrote how most Christian peasants endured even greater suffering after Omer Paša slaughtered the local *begs.*[5] A Bosnian observer remarked that Omer Paša's campaign brought some freedom for the Christian population of Bosnia, but had severe consequences for the economic and social situation in the countryside.[6] The Ottoman campaign had left the *vilayet* (province) in a very difficult state. Omer Paša Latas himself wrote to Ottoman colleagues in Serbia – sarcastically – that "they'd better not eat any fish from the rivers, because they were fed with Bosnian human meat."[7]

The political instability of the second half of the nineteenth century was, of course, not solely the work of Omer Paša. It was also a consequence of international developments such as the Crimean War, fought between the Russian and Ottoman empires from 1853 to 1856, and agrarian crises in Anatolia in the 1870s, which led to dehydration in the soil as well as floods, famine, and social unrest.[8] Istanbul searched for new sources of income and increased taxes in the European parts of the Empire, particularly in the Balkans. A crucial conflict broke out in 1875, when some Bosnians killed the Ottoman official who had arrived from Istanbul to collect taxes. Rebellion started first among the Orthodox peasants, and was joined shortly thereafter by Catholic and Muslim peasants. The conflict spread throughout the region and soon involved neighboring countries. The independent states of Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire, then Russia came to the aid of the Balkan allies; Bulgaria and Romania entered the war soon after.[9]

---

[5] Omer Hadžiselimović (ed.), *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Boulder, 2001) 251, 369.

[6] Narodna Biblioteka Srbije (NBS) - Vasa Pelagić, *Istorija Bosansko-Ercegovacke Bune u svezi za Srpsko- i Rusko-Turskim ratom (Studija za narod i drzavnike* (Budapest: Stamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879), 43.

[7] Ahmed Muradbegović, *Omer Paša Latas u Bosni* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska,1944), 66, cited in Glenny, *The Balkans*, 80.

[8] Peter Sugar, *Nationality and Society in Habsburg and Ottoman Europe* (Aldershot: Variola, 1997), 485-98.

[9] Outline of recent international research about the Eastern Crisis in: Hakan Yafuz and Peter Sluglett (eds.), *War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011).

This war was not just a simple instance of social upheaval, but also a struggle of national movements against empires. The Austrian-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, in the very middle of the continent, feared the small Serbian kingdom and its ally Montenegro, which did not conceal their serious territorial ambitions. In 1844 Garašanin had written his *Outline* (*Načertanije*), pinpointing many Austrian-Hungarian lands as territories to be annexed by a Greater Serbia. In short, the Bosnian crisis could seriously damage the balance of power in the region.

When war was brought to an end, the Russians dictated the peace treaties of San Stefano, which was why the Great Powers rejected them. In the peace treaties of Berlin in 1878, the Great Powers decided that it would be not the Ottoman but the Austrian-Hungarian Empire that would restore order in the turbulent provinces of Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Sandžak. The geopolitical game was well played by the talented Austrian-Hungarian Count Andrassy, who managed to convince the other European leaders that it was in everyone's interest for the Dual Monarchy to invest in Bosnia. Although the powers agreed that Austria would simply administer and not *rule* the troublesome region, it was quite obvious from the very beginning that Bosnia would never again be under Istanbul rule.

Because Bosnia is a region of isolated valleys in the shadows of forests covering steep mountains, its society was for many centuries barely integrated in a cultural or political sense. When industrialization and urbanization made the world smaller, through print media, transport systems, and early forms of telecommunications, the society of the former Ottoman province became vulnerable to the claims of neighboring countries. Apart from ethnic and historical claims, the romanticism of the mysterious mountains and forests and the lure of traditional folklore were important elements of the Serbian and Croatian nationalist longing for the "old," "proud" land of Bosnia.[10] In both Serb

[10] The first sentence of Vladimir Gaćinović's famous essay "Mlada Bosna" begins: "Bosnia is an old Serbian land". The Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić wrote that it would be a mistake to see Bosnia as a borderland of Serbia and compare it with the meaning of Alsace-Lorraine to France or Trieste to Italy. Bosnia, in his view, had incorporated the finest aspects of the Serbian race. Something similar was expressed by the Serbian diplomat Miroslav Spalajković, who wrote his dissertation about

and Croat nationalist poetry, Bosnia was praised for being "pure" and "authentic": a homeland for each nation.

What follows is an outline of the pre-national, national and so-called multinational identifications of Bosnia. I discuss the Ottoman, Austrian, and Bosnian perspectives on the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural contrasts in the region which for decades was, as described above, torn by war, poverty, and chaos. It is necessary to elaborate on the identifications in order to understand the context in which the young Bosnians could educate themselves and inspire others in the first two decades of the 20th century. As is often the case in history: chaos and disorder accelerate various identification processes, since turbulent circumstances make people seek for control.

Pre-National Identifications in Ottoman Bosnia

In this section I outline the most important Ottoman social structures and their influence on identification processes. I focus on religion, urban-rural contrasts, and kinship.

Religion

Eminent Balkan historian Wayne Vucinich emphasized that the Ottoman Empire was "an enormous and intricate network of social subsystems" and warned against easy generalizations and oversimplifications.[11] Social systems varied by century and by region: the Empire's territory stretched from Africa to Asia and Europe and included deserts, swamps, urban areas, and mountain ranges that were home to sedentary and nomadic peoples alike. When describing

Bosnia at the University of Paris. According to Spalajković, the Serbian race was the least "polluted" in Bosnia. See: Džaja, op. cit., 194.

[11] Wayne Vucinich, "The Nature of the Balkan Society under Ottoman Rule," *Slavic Review* 21 (1962/4): 597-616: 597.

Ottoman social structures, however, one can start with religion. Essentially, the Empire was a religious empire, which means that the Sultan was both a worldly and religious leader and that the Ottomans categorized people according to religion instead of ethnicity. The *millet* system divided political and cultural classes along lines of (personal) belief. Identity was therefore connected with religious orientation, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the Ottomans became concerned with nationality. But there were important social cleavages. Muslims were exempted from most taxes, which made many Christians convert to Islam during the first centuries of the Turkish epoch in the Balkans.[12] The *raya* (literally: "herd") of non-Muslims was supposed to pay the majority of the taxes. Although the Ottoman system was principally built on discrimination and inequality, most Ottoman lords were pragmatic and flexible rulers. Jews, Catholics, and Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians were tolerated by the Ottoman Empire and each community had representatives in Constantinople.

Many Western observers and local historians interpreted the Yugoslav civil wars of the 1990s to be expressions of "old" hatreds among ethnic communities, referring to the Ottoman millet system.[13] This view is an oversimplification. The millet system was oriented towards religion and partly towards class, but was not that much concerned about ethnicity. True, towards the end of the nineteenth century these religious communities increasingly became national, but this development was in fact counter to the intentions of the Ottoman authorities. And, for the bulk of the population – the peasantry – nationality had little or no significance, perhaps because ever-changing

[12] There is, of course, much more to say about conversions to Islam in Bosnia. Most scholars argue that an individual's conversion was a gradual process rather than a quick, pragmatic decision. See: Philippe Gelez, *Petit guide pour servir a l'etude de l'islamisation en Bosnie et en Herzegovine: avec le recueil des sources connues, ainsi qu'un commentaire sur l'utilisation qui a été faite de celles-ci* (Istanbul: Editions Isis, 2005); Robert Donia and John Fine, op. cit., 13-74; Antonina Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective," in: Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi (eds.), *Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), 224-66; Fikret Adanir, "The Formation of a Muslim Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," in: Adanir, Faroqhi (eds.), op. cit., 268-304.

[13] Kemal Karpat, "The Balkan National States and Nationalism: Image and Reality," *Islamic Studies* 36 (1997/2-3), 329-59: 332-33.

national boundaries made the rural population cling to safe anchorage in religion, locality, and region.[14]

Raymond Detrez has explained that identifications with ethnicity, though not absent in the Ottoman times, were far less important than religious affiliation – partly because morally, religion carried a much greater sense of obligation.[15] Ethnicity was not a replacement for religious identity, nor was religion a predecessor of ethnicity or nationality. In effect, religious identification functioned as some kind of temporary cement in a highly interconnected society, where cultural differences could be understood only in a very local and specific context. One of these differences was the geographic position of particular communities: specifically whether they were urban or rural.

Urban and Rural

The Ottomans believed in urban culture. One might say that Ottoman culture was inherently urban, as it was rooted in the city of cities: Istanbul (or Constantinople, as many Western Europeans used to call it). The *ulema* (Islamic clergy) lived in the cities, and urban citizens were supposed to follow Islamic laws. These laws discriminated against non-Muslims, who were initially not allowed to ride horses, dress in colorful clothes, or subscribe to the guilds, among other prohibitions.[16] Because the urban economy evolved around trade and crafts, and hence the guilds, the non-Muslim population lived on the margins of society. Sarajevo, however, was an exception among Ottoman cities and towns.[17] The authorities did not strictly enforce the discriminatory

[14] This absence of a feeling of national identity among the peasantry was not something specific to the region, as Miroslav Hroch has concluded. Hroch, *Social Preconditions*, 180.
[15] Raymond Detrez, "Pre-National Identities in the Balkans," in: Roumen Daskalov and Tchavdar Marinov (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume One: National Ideologies and Language Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13-67: 63-65.
[16] Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), 15; Vucinich, "The Nature of the Balkan Society," 616.
[17] Some aspects of urbanity in medieval Bosnia are examined in: Seka Brkljača, Danka Ilić et al. (eds.), *Urbano biće Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju, 1996). Noteworthy are the essays by Nedžad Kurto, (9-20), Lidija Fekeža

rules, and after the eighteenth century some crafts and guilds there were completely in hands of non-Muslim communities of Jews or "Latins" (Roman Catholics). The urban population's identity is a complicated matter: from today's perspective, we would say that Bosnian cities like Sarajevo were inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Vlachs, Armenians, Arabs, Persians, Slavs, and other peoples. However, in Ottoman times, the rural population would have regarded all these residents simply as "Turks."[18] The urban population, professionally affiliated with the authorities in trade or administration, tended more than the rural population to identify themselves with the Empire (and those who consciously identified with the Empire were predominantly Muslim). The nineteenth-century ethnologist Vuk Karadžić, who wrote about the Serbs, said that they principally did not live in cities, and those who did were not seen as "real Serbs." (Some say that this contrast between the urban and rural populations was misinterpreted later as an ethnic division, a supposed rift echoed in 1990s war propaganda that characterized Bosnian cities and towns such as Sarajevo and Srebrenica as being besieged by "rural" troops).[19]

The urban-rural contrast became more visible as peasants began moving to towns and cities towards the end of the nineteenth century. For centuries during the Ottoman period, the urban and rural populations had lived in parallel universes, hardly mingling or connecting with one another. But peasants who became aware of the city would at the same time come to a new level of awareness with regard to the countryside. Most peasants had never experienced such a

(37-47), and – for the Austro-Hungarian period and beyond – Ibrahim Kemura (113-21).

[18] Vucinich, "The Nature of the Balkan Society," 614.

[19] Bogdan Bogdanović, *Die Stadt und der Tod* (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 1993); Xavier Bougarel, "Yugoslav Wars: The 'Revenge of the Countryside': Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth," *East European Quarterly* 33:2 (1999), 157-75; Sreten Vujović "Nelagoda od grada," in: Nebojša Popov (ed.), *Srpska strana rata. Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* (Belgrade: Republika, 1996), 132-58; Guido van Hengel, "De rurale paradox van Belgrado. Verheerlijking van het platteland in de Servische cultuur," *Donau – Tijdschrift over Zuidoost-Europa* (2007/2), 43-53; Ivana Spasic, "ASFALT: The Construction of Urbanity in Everyday Discourse in Serbia," in: Klaus Roth and Ulf Brunnbauer (eds.), *Urban Life and Culture in Southeastern Europe. Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006), 211-27.

moment of comparison and clarity until the end of the nineteenth century. Hence, urbanization altered the social environments of both city and countryside.

Kinship

In the countryside people's primary point of identification was the family. Most people living outside the cities had no notion whatsoever of a Sultan in distant Istanbul; they served their local, indigenous Slavic Muslim lords. The peasants lived in extended-family households, sometimes together with their cattle, under the supervision of the father or grandfather – the patriarch. This particular Balkan family structure, known under the name *zadruga*, has played an important role in the imagery of the Balkans in general, and of the prehistory of Yugoslav communism in particular.[20] In Bosnia the *zadruga* was, besides being a form of social community, an economic necessity. Although there were some Muslim *zadruge*, most of these joint households were to be found

[20] Many leading figures of the post–World War II socialist federation of Yugoslavia, including Tito himself and his fellow revolutionary Milovan Djilas, said they were formed in the proto-socialist rural community.
Nonetheless, family relations varied considerably across the Balkan Peninsula, as parts of Croatia and Slovenia received influences from Central European bourgeois societies, whereas remote, isolated regions of Albania and Montenegro continued to have clans well into the twentieth century. In other words, it is not plausible that Tito's upbringing in Croatia had much in common with comrade Milovan Djilas's childhood in Montenegro. See: Philis Auty, *Tito: A Biography* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1974), 29. There were also experiments with socialist *zadrugas* (peasant working collectives) in the early years of socialist Yugoslavia, just after the Second World War. See: Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way. Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian village* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 51. For more on communists and the peasant village communities, see: Catherine Lutard, "La question paysanne Yougoslave la trahison des communists," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 102 (1997), 107-38: 110-14. Other significant contributions: Karl Kaser, *Macht und Erbe. Männerherrschaft, Besitz und Familie im östlichen Europa (1500-1900)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 158-66; Bringa, Op. Cit., 42-58; Maria Todorova, "Myth-making in European Family History: The Zadruga Revisited," *East European Politics and Societies* (1989/4), 30-76; Hannes Grandits and Siegfried Gruber, "The Dissolution of the Large Complex Households in the Balkans: Was the Ultimate Reason Structural or Cultural?," *History of the Family* (1996/4), 477-96; Selcuk Dursun, "Procreation, Family and 'Progress': Administrative and Economic Aspects of Ottoman Population Policies in the 19th Century," *History of the Family* 16 (2011), 166-171.

in Christian peasant communities, either Catholic or Orthodox.[21] These Christian peasants were often *kmets*, which can be translated as "serf" – although some claim that "sharecropper" or even "tenant farmer" would be a more accurate translation.[22] These *kmets* had to pay one-third (the *trećina* tax) of the harvest to the local Muslim lords and one-tenth (the *desetina* tax) to the Ottoman state. At first sight the agrarian relations in the Bosnian countryside were quite similar to those of Western European feudalism during the middle Ages, but there are some important differences – at least with regard to the legal position of the serfs.[23] The lord and his serfs were highly dependent on each other when it came to agrarian production, protection, and the cultivation of the soil. Unlike in the system of feudalism in medieval Western Europe, the serf in Bosnia was not personally tied to his lord and enjoyed some freedom of movement, at least in theory.[24] The reality could be different, especially in distant border areas of the Empire such as Bosnia, where illiterate peasants had no notion of their civil or legal rights. Few serfs in Bosnia enjoyed complete freedom of movement.[25] Besides, *begs* often took more than one-third of the serfs' crops and often oppressed and misused the *kmets*. Another problematic aspect of *kmetsvo* (serfdom) was the *corvée*, which obliged serfs to perform manual labor in and around the *beg*'s residence. The Marxist historian Veselin Masleša recalled how while serfs were doing their

[21] Bringa, op. cit., 43; Robert F. Byrnes (ed.), *Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976).
[22] Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984), 367.
[23] A historiographic overview can be found in: Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918.* (Sarajevo: Ibn Sina, 2005), 13-39.
[24] Ian Sethre, "The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Hercegovina 1878-1914," *Kakanien Revisited* (2004). www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/Sethre1.pdf. (Accessed October 2012).
[25] Michael Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution without Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 131; Peter Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 8-12, 14; Guido van Hengel, "Duel om het varken. Varkensvlees is Servisch cultuurgoed." *Donau* (2013/3), 7-11.

work, *begs* harassed the peasants' wives and daughters.[26] According to other sources, however, this rarely happened.[27]

The family would remain the cornerstone of Bosnian society, as in many Mediterranean countries. However, after the Austrians came to Bosnia, the joint household of the *zadruga* fell apart as a consequence of the economic changes brought about by the introduction of modern capitalism. Needless to say, this change had an impact on the sense of identity possessed by individual family members, and how it was expressed.

Points of identification

To summarize, there were at least three significant points of identification in Ottoman Bosnia: 1) religion, 2) urbanity/rurality, and 3) family relations in the countryside. Religion was the locus of identification for the Ottoman bureaucracy and was therefore crucial in daily life. Identification as either rural or urban concerned the orientation towards Istanbul and a sense of belonging to the Empire. The rural population was focused on their local *beg*, while their sense of individual belonging was directed to the extended family household.

Well into the nineteenth century, blunt ethnic hatred played no critical role in these networks of identification. Donia and Fine explained that although most religious differences stabilized and hardened in the nineteenth century, and distinctions among Muslims, Croats, and Serbs were recognizable in dress, cuisine, home furnishings, music, and other customs, a tradition of peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding was always dominant.[28] Violent encounters, when they took place, were mostly between lords and serfs. Although Christian peasants rebelled against Muslim lords, the issues

[26] Veselin Masleša, *Mlada Bosna* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1964 [1945]), 29.
[27] NBS – Vasa Pelagić, *Istorija Bosansko-Ercegovacke Bune u svezi za Srpsko- i Rusko-Turskim ratom (Studija za narod i drzavnike* (Budapest: Štamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879), 30-31.
[28] Robert J. Donia and John V. Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (London: Hurst and Company, 1994), 79-85. Donia and Fine's modernist views have been criticized and debated by some authors. A good outline of arguments can be found in: Robert M. Hayden, "Moral Visions and Impaired Insight: The Imagining of Other People's Communities in Bosnia," *Current Anthropology* 48 (2007/1), 105-31: 107-8.

at stake were not so much faith or identity but rather oppression, hunger, and poverty. This observation is based on reports from that era, such as the notes on the Bosnian uprising by Vaso Pelagić, who concluded: "These Bosnian uprisings, just like the earlier uprisings in [Serbian] Šumadija, were not planned out of national or revolutionary fanaticism […] but they were of an utterly social and political nature. The people wanted to live in happiness and freedom, in contrast to their daily life. If the life conditions had been different, they would not have voluntarily rebelled."[29]

Local nationalist propaganda offered a black-and-white image that juxtaposed an omnipresent oppressive Ottoman power against poor and oppressed national communities. The historical reality was much more complicated: local Slavic Muslim governors oppressed the Slavic Muslim and Christian peasants under their jurisdiction, while the lord himself was controlled by the Empire's distant administration in Istanbul. The idea that the "old" Empire was made to crumble by the "young" emerging nations is not entirely correct, or should at least be nuanced.

I have not addressed all points of identification, and many more might be mentioned. I chose to consider only three such points that are salient to the explanation of links among social networks and political or cultural developments. The identifications with religion, urban society, and kin were changing because of new developments in urbanization, modernization, and nationalism. This process was not gradual, but must rather be seen as a rapid and chaotic change that transformed social structures within a time-frame of decades. Such upheaval was itself an outcome of international turbulence.

Nationalism and National Identifications

Nationalism, the great force of the nineteenth century, shattered existing horizontal social structures, altered class differences, and brought about new economic relations. Because of its enormous impact, nationalism

[29] NBS – Vasa Pelagić, *Istorija Bosansko-Ercegovačke Bune u svezi za Srpsko i Rusko-Turskim ratom (Studija za narod i državnike* (Budapest: Štamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879), 22-23.

has been extensively and thoroughly researched.[30] But academic saturation has caused the question of nationalism to suffer from a "tyranny of words," since the paradigms represented by terms such as "nation," "*volk*," "nationalism," "nationality," and many others have often been used with little care.[31] Today, in the overtheorized discipline of nationalism studies, the traditions of ethnosymbolism and primordialism are seen as old-fashioned, while common historical-explanation models, such as the often cited conceptions of "imagined communities" (Anderson) and "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm), are (still) significantly modernist. The argument I make in this part follows modernist lines as well, but gives special attention to the writings of the Czech scholar and "ethnicist" Miroslav Hroch, who examined the national movements of smaller European nations in the long nineteenth century. Hroch wrote that the nation cannot be "shaped" without some existing social and cultural *preconditions*. According to Hroch, the national identities of smaller nations in multinational empires (Ottoman, Habsburg) were shaped – or invented – by a very small but productive intellectual elite striving for the emancipation of a culture with a shared language, art, and literature. Their aims were pragmatic, and their methods were peaceful. Hroch emphasizes that, unlike in "state nationalism" (as was the case in France, for example), these national avant-gardes transformed themselves into *national movements*.[32] Following this three-part argument, a national revival starts with 1) a phase of artistic activism, after which 2) a political struggle takes place, and ultimately 3) a mass movement emerges that advocates national autonomy or self-determination. Hroch's notion of

[30] The most commonly used survey is: Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, 2nd edition).
[31] "Tyranny of words" is a phrase taken from L. L. Snyder, cited in: Wolf Dietrich Behschnit, *Nationalismus bei Serben und Kroaten 1830-1914. Analyse und Typologie der nationalen Ideologie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1980), 17; for the problematic uses of the words "nationalism" and "identity," see: Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 28-64.
[32] The difference between the paths of state nationalism and national movements is examined in: Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 42-43.

national revival that depends on a vanguard has proved to be a useful concept in researching small nations in nineteenth-century Europe.[33]

Movements

Taking into account the chronology of all Bosnian "nationalisms," the Bosnian "national revival" came after the spread of Serbian and Croatian nationalism into Bosnian territory. Several scholars have convincingly shown that Bosnian Muslim identity and Bosnian secular identity were created *in reaction to* these much more outspoken and sometimes aggressive nationalisms.[34] Because of their causal links to Bosnian manifestations of identity, I will now consider the Serbian and Croatian movements.

Looking at the "rise" or "revival" of the "Serbian nation," we can distinguish several actors. The first liberators were rebels Miloš Obrenović and Đorđe Petrović (Karađorđe), men who were also rivals and who sometimes colluded with the Sultan to thwart the other. These figures became powerful symbols of the Serbian nation. Meanwhile, in more structural terms, the nation's creators were intellectuals such as the language reformer and ethnologist Vuk Karadžić, the eighteenth-century monk and teacher Dositej Obradović, and, later, the nineteenth-century activist writer Svetozar Miletić from Southern Hungary (Vojvodina).[35] Miloš Obrenović, the prince liberator, was first as despotic as the Ottoman pasha's had been, and for common people in Serbia only a few things changed for the better. However, in the decades following the liberation, the small principality developed into a young and dynamic Balkan state, mostly because of the beneficial trade in pork meat with Central Europe.[36] After the liberation struggle a small group of educated Serbs, mostly from the Austrian lands (Banat, Srem),

[33] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 14-17.
[34] Branka Magaš, "On Bosnianness," *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 1 (2003): 19-23.
[35] Behschnit, op. cit., 65-98; Traian Stoianovich, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830-1880," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1959/3), 242-72.
[36] Michael Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914. Evolution without Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 103-8.

shaped a nationalist ideology by choosing and selecting historical facts to create a narrative of "Serbianness." They located Serbian identity not only in the small state as such, but also in regions in Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, and Macedonia. Vuk Karadžić's dictum "*Srbi sve i svuda*" ["All Serbs, everywhere"] was transformed into an ideology by the Serbian minister Ilija Garašanin, inspired by nationalistic Poles living in three different Empires, when he drafted his plan for a Greater Serbia.[37]

A similar but not identical national movement was formed in the Croatian provinces of the Habsburg Empire. Inspired by the German philological perception of nationhood ("Die wahre Heimat ist eigentlich die Sprache," as Wilhelm von Humboldt said), the Croatian revival started with language; the early-nineteenth-century Illyrian movement founded by Slavic intellectuals in the Dalmatian provinces aimed to unite speakers of the South Slavic language under a single state, preferably under the Habsburg crown.[38] Since most people in Bosnia spoke the same language, it would seem that they would have been part of this initiative for South Slavic unity. But, as explained in the previous section, many Bosnians, particularly in towns, felt greater affiliation with the international *Umma* of Islam, and with the caliph of Istanbul. Thus the great plans for South Slavic Unity envisioned by Serbian and Croatian nationalists did not really account for the simple fact that many Bosnians, who indeed spoke the same language and were of the same ethnic origin, were content with living in the Ottoman Empire and did not long for any change, let alone "unification."

Who are the Serbs?

Nineteenth-century Serbian nationalism differed from Croatian nationalism because of the existence of the independent Serbian

[37] Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), 56-61; David MacKenzie, *Ilija Garašanin: Balkan Bismarck* (New York: Columbia UP, 1985); Ivo Banac, op cit, 83-84; Srećko Džaja, *Bosnien Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche 1878-1918: Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie* (Munich; Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994) 31; Wolf Dietrich Behschnit, *Nationalismus bei Serben und Kroaten 1830-1914. Analyse und Typologie der nationalen Ideologie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1980), 54-65.
[38] Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 180-88.

kingdom. As Dennison Rusinow has observed: "Serbian nationalists and nationalism were basically outward-looking, expansionist, and self-confident."[39] Thus, expanding networks were deemed important, as most Serbs lived "outside" the base of Serbia proper.[40] In some nationalist circles of Belgrade, this was considered a serious political problem. However, contact between Serbs in Serbia and those in surrounding Empires was neither close nor warm. We see the cultural contrast between Serbs of Serbia proper and Serbs living under Hungarian, Austrian, or Turkish rule in the deeming of migrant Serbs from the Hungarian region of Vojvodina as "alien" by Serbs in central Serbia. "Those Serbs" from the Empire had different customs and dress, they spoke a posh version of Serbian, ate different dishes and drank different drinks (beer, for example).[41] To everybody's astonishment in Serbia, these newcomers addressed each other not with the patriarchal "*brate*" [brother] but with the third-person singular. Language reformer and writer Vuk Karadžić was not too enthusiastic about the arrival of the Hungarian Serbs and indeed spoke of them as "bankrupts, vagabonds and desperados … who appreciate Serbia as a pig prizes a forest in which there is an abundance of acorns and water."[42] But this depiction was true only for a very small number of newcomers, most of whom were in fact literate, middle-class individuals who brought German and Central European culture to Serbia. They were called "*švabe*" [Krauts] to distinguish them from the "real Serbs" [*srbi*].

However, times were changing. Education developed steadily in Serbia during the 1840s and 1850s. Previously Serbian books had been printed only outside Serbia proper, for example in Pest, Ujvidék (Novi Sad), and Vienna.[43] But after 1850 Serbian books were printed in

[39] Dennison Rusinow, "The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia," in: Dejan Djokic (ed.), *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea* (London: Hurst & Co., 2003), 11-26: 17.
[40] Tatjana Marković, "Political, Cultural, Artistic Activities of the Ujedinjena Omladina," *Kakanien Revisited* 16/08/2004
http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/ncs/TMarković1.pdf [accessed February 2015]
[41] Stajanovich, "The Patterns of Serbian Intellectual Evolution," 243.
[42] Cited in: Ibidem.
[43] The early literary circles of Pest, Szentendre, and other Hungarian cities are discussed by Jovan Skerlić in his book about youth and literature. Jovan Skerlić, *Omladina i njena književnost* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966 [1914]), 15-28.

the Serbian capital of Belgrade in ever-increasing numbers. Vuk Karadžić strongly supported the creation of a native educated elite and advised the king to invest in local schooling to minimize foreign influences spread by Vienna- or Berlin-educated students. The king himself was reluctant, as he deemed schools to be dangerous environments for potential revolt, but the government thought otherwise. Between 1830 and 1865 two classical *gymnasiums* and four junior *gymnasiums* were founded, where forty-six educated teachers were teaching approximately fourteen hundred pupils.[44] For serious academic education, however, students still had to go abroad.[45] The Sorbonne in Paris was the most popular destination. The nationalist politician Ilija Garašanin, the architect of the ideology of Greater Serbia, complained that the educated elite had first been "Schwabian," then "French" or "Parisian": but they had never become "Serbian."[46]

Serbian Youth

The students' travels provided important nodes of a wide-reaching intellectual network. For example, the Liberal Serbian Party was strongly influenced by French ideas, since their ministers had studied in Paris. Of great importance were the circles of Slavic students at Central European universities. The mutual influence among the Polish, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Czech, Moravian, Sorbian, and Ruthenian students in the classrooms of the universities of Vienna, Prague, Agram (Zagreb), and Graz cannot be overstated.[47] Since the

[44] Stajanovich, "The Patterns," 249.
[45] The "high school" of Belgrade opened in 1863 and was made into a university in 1905. The first professors of this university were graduates of the universities of Paris (14), Vienna (10), Berlin (10), Munich (7), Leipzig (6), Geneva (4), St. Petersburg (3), and many other universities, mostly in the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. See: Ljubinka Trgovčević, "Die ersten im Ausland ausgebildeten Belgrader Professoren," in: Richard Georg Plaschka and Karlheinz Mack (eds.), *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes II: Universitäten und Studenten* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987), 101-13: 106.
[46] Cited in: Stajanovich, "The Patterns," 254. "Frenchisms" were a pan-Balkanic fashion in the middle of the nineteenth century, also in Bulgaria and especially in Rumania. Mishkova, "Forms without Substance," in: Mishkova and Daskalov, *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume II*, 1-98:5.
[47] Vladimir Matula, "Die politischen Kreise slawischer Studenten in Wien: Ihre Bedeutung für die weltanschaulich-politische Heranbildung junger Ideologen der

Slavic students at Austrian universities were fighting the same "alien" Royal Habsburg power, they were inspired by visions of Pan-Slavism, in both its Russian and Austrian versions. In effect, the Central European Slavic student networks formed key figures in the "revival" not of one nation but of *several* nations. Ľudovít Štúr, for example, a professor of languages at the University of Pozsony (Bratislava), was a significant force behind the Slovak, Polish, and Croat student movements.[48] One of his students in Pozsony was the Hungarian Serb Svetozar Miletić, who founded a student organization called *Sloboda* [Freedom] for Serbs, Croats, and Slovaks and initiated of the Pan-Slavic anthology *Slavjanka* [The Slavic Girl], a collection of poems and stories written by students.[49] In 1848, the year of European revolutions, he felt compelled to go to Belgrade in Serbia to speak about the ideals of the French Revolution (especially *fraternité*) and a Slavic revival in Central Europe, calling upon Serbs, Bosnians, and Bulgarians to overlook their differences. In the 1850s and 1860s, Miletić became the leading figure among young Serbian nationalists because of his extensive network of Slavic activists in Central Europe.

These networks materialized into movements after the failed revolutions of 1848. Interestingly, these movements were initiated from the Empire's capital city. In 1863 a group of Serbian students in Vienna founded the society *Zora* [Dawn], aiming to spread Serbian culture among Slavic youth in the Empire's capital.[50] In 1866 *Zora* created the Serbian student society Ujedinjena Srpska Omladina [United Serbian Youth] in Novi Sad, connecting all Serbian societies, groups, and networks spread across the Austrian and Hungarian lands.[51] It seemed the time for change had come: in the same year Austria went through a

slowakischen nationalen Befreiungsbewegung in den dreißiger Jahren des 19. Jahrhundert," in: Plaschka and Mack, *Wegenetz II*, 155-61.

[48] Skerlić, *Omladina*, 18-19; Matula, "Die politischen Kreise," 160-61; Edita Bosák, "Slowakische Studentenorganisationen in Wien, Prag und Budapest und ihre Zusammenarbeit," in: Plaschka and Mack, *Wegenetz II*, 162-82.

[49] Behschnitt, op. cit., 83.

[50] Nationalbibliothek Österreich - *Zora: Književni Rad srpskog đačkog društva u Beču* (Vienna: Srpski Akad. Društvo Zora, 1875).

[51] Nikola Petrović, *Istorijsko mesto, uloga i značaj ujedinjenje omladine srpske* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1977) 13.

crisis after its loss in the Austro-Prussian War. The United Serbian Youth sought to take advantage of this situation.

The pioneers of the United Serbian Youth met twice or three times a week with colleagues to edit contributions to the group's magazine and discuss further action. Here we can already distinguish another aspect of the process I discussed in the introduction: the loose networks that stabilized into preliminary organizations and institutions. The "contact" or "communication" went through a phase of consolidation in which the network was given concrete form through recurring meetings and gatherings, which could eventually lead to the establishment of movements. In its short existence, the United Serbian Youth indeed successfully sustained a network of communication for dozens of Serbian societies from Zadar to Berlin, from Vienna to Niš. These small societies were often no more than a gathering of several students; but they were important because they granted access to a network, and hence: education, modernization, cultural infrastructures, press, and identity.

The United Serbian Youth presented itself as having cultural and social aims, but the Hungarian, Austrian, and Serbian governments regarded it as a dangerously political entity. After annual meetings in the Serbian capital of Belgrade (1867), and in the Hungarian towns of Bečkerek (Zrenjanin) (1868), Kikinda (1869), Novi Sad (1870) and Vršac (1871), the society was forbidden and could no longer meet in the region.[52] However, the United Serbian Youth provided the blueprint for all future youth organizations in the region, including the early 20th century South Slavic student movements.

Serbian propagandists

Another network of Serbian nationalism was created not by youth clubs but by the political powers, a manifestation of "top-down Serbian nationalism." Ilija Garašanin, Serbian minister of interior affairs and the architect behind the plan to integrate all Serbs into one state, began searching for propagandists after he wrote his secret *Outline* (*Načertanije*) in 1844. To win souls for the Greater Serbian plan, he

[52] Marković, "Political, Cultural, Artistic," 3.

created a network of secret cells of propagandists in the Ottoman Empire advocating the unification of all Serbs, and the assimilation of other nations into Serbia in what would eventually be a dramatic expansion of the nation. These societies were also founded in Dalmatia, where some groups considered themselves "Serb-Catholics."[53] Another secret society, led by the charismatic prince-bishop Njegoš, was founded in Montenegro.[54] The propaganda agents were not solely recruited from the Orthodox Church – quite the contrary. Garašanin also wanted Catholics in Croatia and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire (including Bosnia) to join a Serbian movement, holding out a carrot of secular ideals such as freedom and justice as a way of winning them over to his grand nationalist plan.

Who are the Croats?

To understand the circumstances of Bosnia around 1900, we must elaborate on the revival of the Croatian nation, too. The "Croat" networks reveal, much more than the Serbian networks, something about the complexity of identification, both social and national, in the nineteenth century. Earlier, the Illyrian movement of the romantic Ljudevit Gaj (1807-1872) had focused on the importance of language, instead of religion, in shaping a nation.[55] His Illyrianism might be interpreted as some kind of proto-Yugoslavism, because it deemed all people speaking the "South Slavic language" as part of a single unified entity (Gaj himself was half Slovak, half German, so he had personal reasons for transcending cultural borders). Since the outspoken Serbian language reformer Vuk Karadžić had picked the Hercegovinan dialect (which is also spoken in Croatian Dalmatia) as the standard language of the Serbs, it was unclear if Catholic Croatians, speaking this very language, were to be designated Serbs, or vice versa. The confusion is illustrated by the inclusion by Serb and Croat language reformers of

[53] Ivo Banac, "The Confessional 'Rule' and the Dubrovnik Exception: The Origins of the 'Serb-Catholic' Circle in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia," *Slavic Review* 42 Nr. 3 (1983), 448-74.
[54] Stoianovich, "The Patterns," 247.
[55] Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010), 72-81; Elinor Murray-Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York/London: Boulder East European Monographs, 1975).

"Serb-Catholics" (a Serb interpretation of Croats) or "Croats of the old religion" (a Croatian interpretation of Serbs).[56] When looking at the Croats' "national revival," we can see that there were all kinds of movements, ranging from Pan-Slavic to South-Slav, from Croatian Catholics and secular nationalists and Croato-Serbian groups to pro-Austrian, pro-Serb, and even pro-Italian entities. These movements collided, aligned with one another, and conflicted in shifting compositions, collaborations, and coalitions. They were focused not so much on religion or ethnicity as on language, and sometimes ideology. Recently, Dominique Kirchner Reill has stressed the pluralist view of many first-stage (according to Hroch's model) intellectual nationalists in the port cities of the Adriatic Sea and has suggested using the term "multi-nationalism."[57] Following her argument, one could say that Croatian nationalism, or something that may be called Croatian nationalism, did not necessarily aim to homogenize one nation into one state. Nationalism was an emancipatory force in itself. This also meant that it was possible to develop nationalism in collaboration with other nationalists from other national communities.

Still, both Serbian and Croatian nationalists wanted to include Bosnian territory in the states they envisioned. Therefore, the Austrian occupation of Bosnia in 1878 was a turning point in the development of Serbian and Croatian nationalism. In Serbia the occupation was considered to be a violent attack on Serbian interests in the region, and all quarreling factions in the Serbian political landscape, including the young and progressive United Serbian Youth and the more conservative Greater Serbian ideologues around Garašanin, spoke out in one voice against Austria. In Croatia there were mixed reactions, from anger to mild optimism, because some saw new opportunities to integrate the Catholic population of its mountainous regions. Serbs and Croats alike saw new challenges in connecting to the Austro-Hungarian Bosnian community. If the isolated, mountainous region could be connected to the existing intellectual and political network, there would be new chances for expansion.

---

[56] Behschnit, op. cit., 139.

[57] Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists who feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste and Venice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2012).

Nationalism: New points of identification

The impact of nineteenth-century nationalism on Bosnia cannot be underestimated. Nationalism profoundly changed the cultural cohesion of the society. First, religion was absorbed into nationalist ideas, as Bosnian Serbs (in a national sense) merged with the Orthodox community, and began looking towards Belgrade; whereas Bosnian Croats (in a national sense) merged with the Catholic community and began looking towards Zagreb, Zadar, and Split. Second, the emancipation of the Bosnian Serbs and Croats in the former Ottoman province coincided with their urbanization; they became involved in commerce and the early industrialization of the region. As a consequence the urban Ottoman society was rapidly transformed. Third, the identification with the family now complemented the identification with a Serbian or Croatian nation. Most peasants remained loyal to kin well into the twentieth century, but, nevertheless, step-by-step, the *zadruga's* were falling apart in the late nineteenth century.[58]

Still, identity in Bosnia was never set in stone. An interesting remark was made by an Austrian official in 1879, observing the society of the occupied land:

> "The nation of Bosnia and Hercegovina is divided into three religions, these are: Catholics, who consider themselves Croats, although the people call them "Latins"; Orthodox, who are Serbs; and Muslims, who would like to be Turks, which they are not, because a Turkish religion does not exist, as there is only Islam. […] The Croats call their language Croat, the Serbs call their language Serbian and the Muslims call their language Bosnian."[59]

This was how the Austrians regarded the Bosnian imbroglio. There were several potential points of identification: towards Zagreb, Istanbul, Belgrade, or Vienna. The question was how to control these points of identification.

[58] Peter Sugar, *Nationality and Society*, 495; Okey, op. cit., 84.
[59] Cited in: Bogićević, *Pismenost*, 251.

Identifications in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia

When the Austrian armies occupied Bosnia in 1878, the Empire faced multiple dilemmas. First: How to integrate Bosnia into the Empire when Serb and Croat nationalism was rapidly changing the cultural mindset of at least a large part of the population? Second: How to solve the agrarian question, and what to do with the semi-feudal system in the countryside? Third: How to make livable a country riven by war, hunger, poverty, and internal chaos?

Colonialism

Wallerstein and Balibar assumed that colonization is the key moment in all nation-building processes. Both the colonizer and the colonized realize their mutual dependency, in a Wallersteinian sense, and start searching for the self.[60] Reflecting on nationalist movements in the Third World, Dieter Rothermund observed that "der Nationalismus der Länder der Dritten Welt steht unter dem Gesetz seines Gegners, er wendet sich gegen die Fremdherrschaft mit deren eigenen Mitteln und Ideen."[61]

Can the situation of Habsburg Bosnia be compared with others of colonial rule, as it once was in the Global South? Rightly or wrongly, scholars and politicians were already speaking of colonial rule in Bosnia during the era of Habsburg occupation.[62] In 1880, the Belgian writer Émile de Laveleye wrote that Austria was facing the same problems in Bosnia as "the French in Algeria and Tunis, the English in

[60] Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), 89, cited in: Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 135.
[61] Dietmar Rothermund, "Nationalismus und sozialer Wandel in der Dritten Welt: Zwölf Thesen," in: Otto Dann (ed.), *Nationalismus und sozialer Wandel* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Kampe Verlag, 1978), 187.
[62] Bojan Aleksov, "Habsburg 'Colonial Experiment' in Bosnia and Hercegovina Revisited," in: Stefan Troebst and Ulf Brunnbauer (eds.), *Schnittstellen: Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 201-16: 201.

India and the Russians in Central Asia."[63] The local Serbian population liked to talk about the Bosnians as "white slaves" of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.[64] Later in the twentieth century it was quite common in local Yugoslav historiography to speak about the forty years of Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Hercegovina as a colonial period.[65] However, as Raymond Detrez rightly stressed, this Yugoslav identification with the world's colonized peoples must not be understood as an expression of sympathy nor solidarity with Indian, African, or Arab peoples oppressed by Europeans, but rather as a metaphorical, rhetorical phrase.[66] Anti-colonialism was in fashion during the 1950s and 1960s in the socialist world, and this partly explains why the word was frequently used in Yugoslav historiography.

Bojan Aleksov pointed out that there are still doubtless some similarities between the colonial rule of the Global South and the Austro-Hungarian administration of Bosnia. It is remarkable – or in his words: suspicious – that none of these comparisons, at the time he was writing, had been discussed in serious scholarly works on colonialism and post colonialism.[67] However, more and more this colonial and postcolonial approach, or that of "area studies," is discussed *within* the discipline of Balkan Studies, both by scholars inside and outside the region.[68] Clemens Ruthner goes so far as propose to implement

---

[63] Cited in: Holm Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*, 172.

[64] HHStA – 79.P.A.XIX Serbien – Liasse XII/3 – 28-F: an article from the Serbian newspaper *Štampa* (26/05/1908) states: "The people of Bosnia and Hercegovina are the 'white slaves' of Europe."

[65] Vladimir Dedijer's *Sarajevo 1914* (Belgrade: Prosvjeta, 1978) compares the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina to India and Ireland under British rule. Another example, from the interwar period, is: Gorko Krulj, "Gradska privreda," in: Pero Slijepčević (ed.), *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje* (Sarajevo: Narodna Odbrana, 1929), 304-41:320-21.

[66] Raymond Detrez, "Colonialism in the Balkans. Historic Realities and Contemporary Perceptions," *Kakanien Revisited*, http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/RDetrez1.pdf (accessed 01/23/2015).

[67] Aleksov, "Habsburg's Colonial Experiment," 201; see also: Evelyn Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreichs-Ungarn im Zeitalter des Hochimperialismus* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2001).

[68] Edin Hajdarpašić, "Locations of Knowledge: Area Studies, Nationalism and 'Theory' in Balkan Studies since 1989" *Kakanien Revisited* 17/07/2009. http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/EHajdarpasic1.pdf [accessed January 2015]; Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger, "Distant Neighbors: Uses of Orientalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Austro-Hungarian Empire," in: James Hodkinson, John

postcolonial approaches in research on Austro-Hungarian literature.[69] The recent colonialism debate about Austrian Bosnia has elicited new perspectives on the question of identity. Especially the discursive language of colonialism ("children") must be taken into account when researching the developments of identifications in relation to social dynamics in Bosnian society.

The Kállay Plan

To see Bosnia through the prism of colonialism, we need to reflect on the policies of Benjamin Kállay, the architect of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia.[70] His official memorandum of 1882 sheds interesting light on the "civilizing mission" of the Monarchy in this part of Europe. When he defended the memorandum to the Hungarian delegations he gave the following explanation:

> "The administration has a double duty to perform; the first is purely administrative, while the second is outside the jurisdiction of the administration. This second duty is to increase the well-being of the population. It cannot be denied that the two provinces [Bosnia and Hercegovina - GvH] are very backward in this respect, and it must be admitted that within the framework of the present budget the government can do very little…to increase the population's living standard. This increase in the living standard is not only necessary and desirable because the national resources of the lands are suitable

Walker, et al. (eds.), *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History. From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe* (New York: Camden House, 2013), 148-65.

[69] Clemens Ruthner, "Central Europe Goes Post-Colonial: New Approaches to the Habsburg Empire around 1900," *Cultural Studies* 16 (2002) 877-83; idem, "'K.(U.)K Postcolonial?' Für eine neue Lesart der österreichischen (und benachbarter) Literatur/en," in: Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Peter Plener, and Clemens Ruthner (eds.), *Kakanien Revisited: Das Eigene und das Fremde (in) der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Tübingen: Francke, 2001), http://www.kakanien.ac.a/beitr/theorie/CRuthner1.pdf [accessed February 2015] See also: Idem, "Austria-Hungary's Only Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918" in: Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (eds.), *The Shadow of Colonialism in Europe's Modern Past 1860 to 1960s* (London: Palgrave, 2014), 156-169.

[70] Biographical details about Kállay in: Robin Okey, "A Trio of Hungarian Balkanists: Béni Kállay, István Burián and Lajos Thallóczy in the Age of High Nationalism," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80 (2002/2) 234-66.

> for great development and would repay all investments richly, but also because it is desirable *from a political point of view*…[my emphasis]"[71]

In 1878, the Monarchy faced multiple internal and external threats. The Emperor saw Bosnia as a great solution to its problems, and as an interesting prestige project for a declining and troubled Empire.[72] Although the "Ersatzkolonie" was under direct rule of the Dual Monarchy, which meant that it was both Transleithanian (Hungarian) and Cisleithanian (Austrian) territory, the Emperor appointed ministers mostly from the ranks of the Hungarian nobility. After the short rule of the Austrian Leopold von Hofmann, the Hungarian aristocrat Joszef von Szlavy was made responsible for Bosnian colonial administration. He was succeeded in 1882 by Benjamin von Kállay, a diplomat.

Kállay's ideas are remarkable given what would happen in the region in the twentieth century, since he strongly favored a multi-confessional Bosnia where Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim citizens would live together peacefully. However, his grand idea of a multireligious society was an essential component of a rather political, not to say geopolitical agenda. It was inspired by the popular Hungarian narrative, or myth, of a Western nation "civilizing" the barbarous South Slavic "oriental" tribes.[73] In an interview with the *Daily Chronicle*, Kállay remarked: "Austria is a great occidental empire, charged with the mission of carrying civilization to Oriental peoples."[74]

Kállay was – like most Habsburg officials and aristocrats – no supporter of radical innovations. He did not dare reform the agrarian system of serfdom and feudalism, in fear of producing new social tensions. He was well aware of what had happened after the Ottomans had tried to reform the system in the 1850s. Instead, he decided to bind the Ottoman landowning class to the new Austro-Hungarian

---

[71] Cited in: Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina*, 56.
[72] Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire* (London/New York: Longman, 1989), 244.
[73] Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987), 61-87.
[74] Cited in: Robert J. Donia, *Islam under Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (New York: Columbia UP, 1981), 14.

administration. He spoke of the *begs* as the "most stable element for the country and people, with whom they feel at one in nationality and language."[75] Kállay believed that the Ottoman *begs* were descendants of the medieval Bosnian nobility and would one day return to Christianity.[76] But to win the hearts of the Bosnians, he did not solely focus on the Muslim upper class. Kállay wanted to reform the inherent legal inequality among groups during Ottoman rule in Bosnia, which he considered to be dangerous. Representatives of all confessional groups, he felt, should have equal rights and opportunities. Because of this political concept, he won the loyalty of some key figures among the Catholic clergy and even the Serbian Orthodox mercantile urban elite, by constructing churches for both communities in the capital of Sarajevo, as well as in other towns.

The main goals of this policy were *Habsburgification* and *Bosnification*. In the first place, he wanted to turn the population into content and docile citizens of the Monarchy, loyal to the Emperor and fully integrated into the multicultural universe of the illustrious *Vielvölkerstaat*. The second goal, Bosnification, had evolved out of fear of Slavic threats from the east. Kállay hoped to create a Bosnian identity that would be significantly different from the Serb and Croat identities that had taken shape in the East and the West (see previous chapter). One of the main aims of Kállay's plan was to loosen ties with emigré circles of Bosnian Serbs and Croats in neighboring lands. In this respect, he propagated the use of the Bosnian language instead of Serbian, Croatian, or Serbo-Croatian. "*Bosnjaštvo*" [Bosnianness, Bosnianhood] was introduced to bind the communities of Bosnia. By forming a multireligious Bosnian identity, Kállay aimed to minimize the influences of aggressive Serb and Croat nationalism in the youngest

[75] Cited in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 59-60.

[76] The discussion about identity and religion of the Bosnian nobility in the Middle Ages is partly connected to the scholarly debate about the Bogomils and the Bosnian Church during the medieval period. Kállay used the myth of the Bogomil Church to stress the peculiarity of the Bosnian Muslim nobility. The most serious works about this subject were written by John V. Fine: *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); Idem, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Idem, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* (New York: Boulder, 1975).

province of Austro-Hungary. Under Kállay's rule it was forbidden to use the words "Serbian" and "Croatian" in a national sense. These words were exclusively supposed to describe the confessional communities of Orthodox and Catholic believers.[77]

Kállay's confessional policy was inspired by the strategy of "divide and rule": the Emperor selected and certified the religious leaders of Bosnia and made the churches and mosques part of the state apparatus. The privileged religious elite of the new province became dependent, first on Kállay and eventually the Emperor. Their loyalty was, with some exceptions, strong. All religious communities, including the Sephardic Jews, were granted new places of worship, designed by the most distinguished architects of the Empire at Kállay's invitation.

We can distinguish aspects of colonialism in the discourse of Kállay's plans. First, the civilizing mission of an "occidental empire" in the "oriental" wilderness.[78] Second, the strong emphasis on the construction of an identity linking the people to the Empire. Third, the reluctance to reform social problems in favor of dealing with the existing elites. We find all these elements in the English and Dutch colonial approaches. In India and Indonesia existing hierarchies were left intact in order to avoid uprisings. Of all the arguments supporting the assumption that Bosnia was a colony of Austria, the most readily acceptable evidence is the reference to the unmistakably colonialist discourse of Kállay and the joint ministry of finance: the "children of Bosnia" were to be brought up by Austro-Hungarian "saviors," who had benevolently transferred civilization to the distant corners of the continent.

[77] Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim,* 204.

[78] The language of "civilization," of "civilizing" the "non-civilized," was the dominant idiom throughout the nineteenth century, as is explained in: Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 2010), 1172-88. Osterhammel's book has recently been translated into English as *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Peter Camiller (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

This era was the heyday of the "invention of tradition" in Western Europe as well, and it was in this spirit that Kállay supported the design of a new "oriental look" for the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. The Bosnian identity, as he wished it to be constructed, was to be visualized in a neo-Orientalist architectonic style mixing elements of North African and Andalusian art with that of the Habsburg baroque.[79]

The Austrian investments in churches, mosques, and synagogues were intended to dissociate religious identity from Serbian or Croatian nationhood and connect it to secular Austrian citizenship. This *religious*, instead of ethnic or cultural, diversity was therefore a main pillar of Kállay's concept of a Bosnian nation. In retrospect, we can see that this was of course a typical Austro-Hungarian idea, taking into account the post-Babelian situation where an Emperor delivered speeches to "his peoples" and the national hymn could be sung in twelve languages at the same time.

All in all, Kállay's Bosnia was to become a miniature Dual Monarchy. This was especially visible in Sarajevo. After a fire devastated a significant part of the city center in 1879, the Austrians were able to rebuild Sarajevo as a Habsburg city. Wooden houses were replaced by stone buildings, modeled after the newest Viennese fashions. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Bosnian city experienced a metamorphosis. Heinrich Renner, a German traveler who wrote extensively on Bosnia, compared places like Tuzla and Sarajevo during Ottoman and Habsburg times and concluded that the "sleeping Cinderella had awoken."[80] There is no consensus about whether the Austrian mission in Bosnia was really successful, but on the outside Sarajevo doubtless seemed to make progress: it *looked* like

[79] Holm Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo: Die Geschichte Einer Stadt* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), 226-32; Maximilian Hartmuth, "Negotiating Tradition and Ambition: A Comparative Perspective on the 'De-Ottomanisation' of Balkan Cityscapes," in: Klaus Roth and Ulf Brunnbauer (eds.), *Urban Life and Culture in Southeast Europe: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 15-33:22-23.

[80] Heinrich Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer. Wanderungen* (Berlin; Reimer, 1896), cited in: Stijn Vervaet, *Centar i Periferija u Austrougarskoj. Dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine na primjeru književnih tekstova* (Zagreb: Synopsis, 2013) 102-3.

progress.[81] In 1914 Sarajevo was far more integrated into modern European society than it had been in 1878, as it had promenades, schools, factories, banks, cars, electric lights, telephone connections, and cinemas.[82] Because of the newly built housing blocs, factories, luxurious villas, railways, and roads for automobile traffic, Sarajevo attracted migrants from both the local countryside and Central Europe more widely. Many fortune-seekers and adventurers from relatively poor Austro-Hungarian regions such as Galicia and Slovakia came to Bosnia to start companies and businesses. These "*kuferaši*" [suitcase people] swelled an expatriate community in Sarajevo. At the same time, ex-peasants moved from Bosnia's mountainous regions to Sarajevo to work as guest laborers in the emerging non-agricultural sectors (industries, trade), though even the Bosnian cities kept a specific "agrarian" character for some decades.[83]

Kállay's ambitious plan to keep Serb and Croat nationalism out of Bosnia did not work out well. In concert with some industrialization and urbanization, the rise of media, thanks to printing innovations and growing literacy, propelled the growth of Serb and Croat nationalism.[84] Soon thereafter the Bosnian Muslims began to develop a feeling of nationality. The circulation of the printed word enhanced social and historical consciousness. Media stimulated identity-making processes, the emancipation of minorities, and the spread of social awareness. The question of nationality became a major problem for Bosnia, especially

[81] James Lyon, "Habsburg Sarajevo 1914: A Social Picture," *Prilozi (Contributions)* 43 (2014), 23-39. For the changes in the rural areas of Habsburg Bosnia, see: Peter F. Sugar, *Nationality and Society in Habsburg and Ottoman Europe*, 492; also Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*, 220; Donia, *Sarajevo*, 60-92.
[82] Lyon, "Habsburg Sarajevo," 24.
[83] Ferdo Hauptman, *Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba Austrougarske vladavine* (Sarajevo: ISI 1987)193-202; I have elaborated on this particular issue in a rather thought-provoking analogy in my own article: "Up in Flames: Gavrilo Princip and the City," *Prilozi* (Contributions) 43 (2014), 89-98.
[84] Although the process of urbanization accelerated under Austrian rule, we can seriously question whether Bosnian industry was also on the rise. In his study of the Bosnian Muslims, Donia rightly stresses that the industry of Bosnia was far from developed and that nationalism, therefore, cannot be compared to the typical Hrochian Eastern European national awakenings: Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, xii.

after Kállay's death in 1903, when the emancipatory confessional groups transformed themselves into political movements.[85]

In this chapter I elaborated on three (pre-national) points of identification in late Ottoman Bosnian society, namely religion, urban/rural environment, and the family. Families transformed and the cities expanded because of the influx of expats from abroad and peasants from the countryside, and these developments were contemporaneous with religion becoming a tool of Austro-Hungarian semi-colonial rule for (re)structuring society. The former Ottoman social networks were changing, and their meanings were shifting. As my case study for these shifting meanings within the social networks of religion, family, and cities, I have chosen the education policy of Bosnia's Austro-Hungarian administration. The school environment was where young Bosnians were educated and formed.

1.2 Students subculture

Austro-Hungary and education

In the nineteenth century, many governments emphasized the importance of education in raising the *national* consciousness of the future generation. For the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Dual Monarchy after the Compromise [*Ausgleich*] of 1867, this development was a challenge for the state to manage. Basically, nationality as such was never really a problem in the Empire, since the constructed identity of a *Vielvölkerstaat* was constantly being communicated via the public speeches of the Emperor, and in official propaganda. The Empire, generally speaking, was in essence not anti-national but non-national, or multinational. However, when nationalisms, including Hungarian nationalism, grew stronger towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Empire's old multinational identity became less and less compatible

[85] Elvis Fejzić, "Political Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878–1918" *East Central Europe* 39 (2012), 204-236.

with the outspoken political claims of "awakening" national minorities.[86]

A serious problem in education was language. National minorities emancipated themselves through the codification of language, and, accordingly, through literature, so the language question had become the worm in the apple of the Austrian education system. There were two dominant state languages, German and Hungarian, but the majority of the population consisted of native speakers of a variety of Slavic languages, and Italian and Romanian. The problem of language involved, therefore, more than just communication. It was a matter of identity.[87]

So, in the late nineteenth century, the integration and disintegration of education was, in the words of Gustav Otruba, a "*lebensentscheidener Faktor*" [determining factor] for the Monarchy's future.[88] It was not entirely clear whether any top-down education policy would really integrate the Empire. On the one hand, an educational system could indeed stimulate a sense of belonging; on the other hand, it was likely that students belonging to minority cultures would realize at school how their language and culture were oppressed. Subsequently, they could develop ideas and methods for opposition.

The instrumentalist approach to education is characteristic of a colonial regime. Schools trained a class of administrators and officials for the state apparatus and bureaucracy. Good civil servants were needed in the newest provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina more than elsewhere, since the Austrian system of governance was different from and more complex than the semi-feudal Ottoman system, and it was based on a strong bureaucracy. Because the education system of the two

---

[86] Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815-1918* (London: Longman 1989), 208-34.

[87] Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 171-188; Vojislav Bogićević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od pojave slovenske pismenost u 9. Veku do kraja austrouarske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini 1918. Godine* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975), 243-72.

[88] Gustav Otruba, " Die Nationalitäten- und Sprachenfrage des höheren Schulwesens und der Universitäten als Integrationsproblem der Donaumonarchie (1863-1910)," in: Richard Georg Plaschka and Karlheinz Mack (eds.), *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes. Wissenschaftszentren und geistige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983), 88-107: 88-89.

provinces was therefore more or less a *tabula rasa*, Kállay needed an effective, thought-out plan.

Education in Bosnia

In 1878, the state of the Bosnian education system was miserable. Granted, there had been schools in Ottoman times, mostly Islamic primary schools, Quran-schools (*mektebi*), and lower secondary schools (*medrese*). But the children who graduated from these schools could do little more than recite a few surahs from the Quran.[89] Their reading and writing skills were poor. There were other confessional schools, organized by the Catholic and Orthodox clergy. Franciscan and Dominican orders had played a role in spreading knowledge in remote areas of Bosnia, while most Orthodox teachers came from independent Serbia, or from the more developed regions of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, such as Srem and the Banat.[90] In Ottoman times, there had also been (Greek) phanariot teachers, infamous for being corrupt and incompetent.[91] Christian schools were tolerated but put under strict Ottoman control. Some unexpected help came from afar: two British women, Adeline Irby and Georgina MacKenzie, had traveled to the Balkans in the times of the Eastern crises and the 1878 peasant uprisings, and had stayed to run schools for Serbian Orthodox children, for both girls and boys.[92] But the idealism of "Miss Irby" (as she was known) alone could not cause the level of education to rise. In 1879 the Bosnian Serb archimandrite Savo Kosanović wrote a famous and often quoted letter, a desperate *cri du coeur* to his new Emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna: "The church schools are run by stupid, ignorant and simple

[89] The issue is discussed more in detail in: Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. Godine* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983), 29.
[90] Pejanovic, *Srednje*, 8-9; Many pioneers of Bosnian literary culture came from Vojvodina, see: Milana Bikicki, "Bosanska Vila i njeni saradnici iz Vojvodine" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na pocetku veka 1895-1914* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 309-316.
[91] Božidar Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu Samoupravu* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982), 41-47.
[92] Sarah Searight, *Women Travelers in the Near East* (Oxford: Oxhow, 2005); John Allcock, *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: Women Travelers in the Balkans* (New York: Berghahn, 2000); Georgina MacKenzie and Paulina Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey I & II* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010).

clerics. There are no schools in the cities, let alone in the villages. The institutes we have now in Bosnia I would not call schools at all. The educational situation is so miserable in there, I cannot describe it."[93]

Kosanović, a leading figure in the Serbian community, suggested reforming the school system along lines that accorded with the confessional "pillars" of Bosnian society. In the administrative circles of the Dual Monarchy, the Austrians favored the introduction of a public, multi-confessional school system in Bosnia, while the Hungarians spoke out against it. In the end – as was often the case in the Dual Monarchy – a compromise was found: Kállay introduced a public school system, complete with textbooks and skilled teachers, while the existing confessional schools continued to be tolerated but were brought under control of Kállay's joint ministry of finance.

Textbooks

A good source about the education system of Kállay's Bosnia is the state-sponsored monthly *Školski Vjesnik* (founded in 1894), aimed at the professionalization of teaching and education in the region. Browsing through the journal one can find essays referring to the civilizing mission and how "blessed" the Bosnians are to be under Austrian administration. "How I taught the illiterate," an article from 1907, is a report about the agony of teaching language to peasants in the countryside. When one-fifth of the students had left the course after one week, the writer concluded: "They thought maybe they could learn writing and reading in two, three evenings."[94] Another article in the same issue explains how terrible the conditions used to be in the Ottoman *mektebe* ("damp, moist and dark places") before the Austrians arrived.[95]

Schools were a laboratory for nationalism and colonialism. Kállay added the public schools to the existing confessional schools and gathered and instructed experts to develop high-quality Austro-

[93] Letter to Franz Joseph by Archimandrit Sava Kosanović 27.4.1879. *Arhiv Prve Gimnazije u Sarajevu*. Mitar Papić, *Istorija Srpskih Škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo; Veselin Masleša, 1978), 123; Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 75-82.
[94] Zemaljski Muzej – Adem Azderović, "Kako sam poucao analfabete" *Skolski Vjesnik* (1907), 547.
[95] Ibidem.

Hungarian textbooks. Much of the drafting of these books took place in the early years of the 1880s, before all confessional groups, and the Joint Ministry of Finance, could agree about their style and content.[96]

At first sight, these textbooks seem ordinary, not unlike the textbooks from any other country: they include exercises in mathematics, language, and common stories about geography and history. But between the lines we can distinguish Kállay's conception of an Austro-Hungarian-Bosnian nation. For example, a reading exercise on the first page of the history textbook presents a debate about historical data. It discusses how Catholics, the Orthodox, and Muslims have different calendar systems.[97] These textbooks also explain how Bosnia represents a nation with three different religions: "and we Bosniaks are all, of whatever religion, brothers born, children of the same mother, our dear homeland."[98]

Another issue was the name and the script of the language. After 1884, when Kállay became head of the administration, the children were taught in the official "Bosnian" language. Since most Serbs and Croats saw this language as either Serbian or Croatian, Kállay decided to reject either names, as well as the problematic "Serbo-Croatian" or "Croato-Serbian." Instead he introduced "Bosnian" as the term for the state language. In the textbooks of the late nineteenth century, most texts were written using the Latin (*latinica*) alphabet, which is used by Croats.[99] Later, after the death of Kállay in 1903, the Bosnian language was re-named Serbo-Croatian and, next to the Latin script, Cyrillic was also used. Someone who went to elementary school after 1903, for example the later assassin Gavrilo Princip, first learned the Latin script, and then, when he was able to write, he was taught how to write Cyrillic in the third textbook.[100] In the following textbooks the readings were divided equally between the Latin and Cyrillic scripts.

---

[96] Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 67-68.
[97] Historijski Arhiv Sarajeva [HAS] - *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine za osnovne škole* (Sarajevo, 1898).
[98] Cited in: Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim*, 253-56.
[99] Bogićević, *Pismenost*, 249, 257-72; Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, 201.
[100] HAS - *Treća čitanka za osnovne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini s gramatikom dodatkom* (Sarajevo, 1910).

The reading material in the elementary school textbooks often concerns Bosnian geography and zoology, but here and there one can read interesting stories about the Empire. A remarkable children's story about the Emperor begins: "One day Emperor Franz and Empress Karolina Augusta were sitting in the beautiful park of Laxenburg near Vienna. The young Franz Joseph was playing around, jumping up and down in the green garden. It was his fifth birthday. Over there he saw a guard with a gun over his shoulder, walking back and forth in front of the castle. The sun was hot and the little archduke felt sorry for the poor guard. He stopped playing, ran to his grandfather, and spoke: 'My dear granddaddy, isn't the man over there very poor?'" What follows is a mealy dialogue, reminiscent of Ernst Marischka's *Sissi* films of the 1950s, between *Opa* Franz and his grandchild Franz Joseph about the virtues and duties of a soldier. Eventually the five-year-old archduke walks over to the guard to give him some coins, but the man refuses, as befitting a disciplined soldier. The story concludes: "One day later the Emperor inquired about the soldier's good behavior. They told him he was good and honest, so he enlisted, and he became a happy and satisfied man." The lesson ends with words recalling those of from the Bible: "Render unto the Emperor the things that are the Emperor's, and unto God the things that are God's."[101]

Hroch stressed that the schooling mission of multinational empires such as the Austrian-Hungarian were often focused on the monarch rather than the "homeland."[102] So it was in Bosnia. The students began each schoolday by singing the imperial anthem honoring Franz Joseph. Birthdays in the imperial family were celebrated as official holidays, and students participated in parades, waving the black and yellow flag of the Habsburgs.[103]

Creating the Bourgeoisie – The Merchant School

Kállay may have had great plans for education in Bosnia, but elementary schooling did not develop as quickly as he wished. First, there were financial problems, since the new province was supposed to

[101] HAS - *Treća čitanka*, 62-63.
[102] Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 100.
[103] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 81-82.

be self-supporting.[104] Second, there was resistance against public schools, particularly from the Serbian and Muslim communities. Third, it was quite a lot of work to prepare the textbooks, construct and maintain the school buildings, and find enough loyal and reliable teachers. In 1880 there were 38 public schools; six years later there were 103; and when Kállay died in 1903, there were around 239 (data from 1904).[105] The number of schools was not something to be proud of, given the nearly two million inhabitants who lived in Bosnia around 1913.[106] Kállay's educational policy was harshly criticized in Yugoslav historiography, as can be seen in the publications of Mitar Papić and Đorđe Pejanović.[107] Their negative assessments were justified in part, but they overlooked some positive developments. For the secondary school system, almost everything had to be developed from scratch, since there had been no such schools in Ottoman times. Kállay introduced *gymnasiums* and high schools, and arranged a system of stipends for children of poorer Bosnians to help them in their education, and thus make their upward social mobility at least possible.

One of the new type of public schools in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia was the Merchant School (*Trgovačka Škola*). The Austrians wanted to create a middle class as soon as possible by training children for jobs in the mercantile center of Sarajevo (the *Čaršija*). In these Merchant Schools the students were taught in languages and particularly mathematics, with a special focus on accounting. We can find more information about the weekly schedule in the yearbooks of the merchant schools. In 1908, for example, a first-year pupil spent two hours per week in religion class. There were teachers for all the five confessional groups: Serbian Orthodox (initially this was called "Greek-Oriental"), Catholic, Islamic, Sephardic Jewish, and Ashkenazi Jewish. The students spent five hours per week in Bosnian and German language classes. Optionally they could choose Hungarian instead of

[104] Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, 483-85.
[105] Fritz Hofmann, *Das Schicksal der Bosniendeutschen in 100 Jahren* (Sersheim: Hartman, 1982) 25-27, cited in: Džaja, *Bosnien-Hercegowina*, 75.
[106] Bogićević, *Pismenost*, 244.
[107] Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske okupacije* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša 1972), Idem, *Istorija Srpskih Škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978); Đorđe Pejanović, *Srednje i stručnje škole u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1953).

German, but at least one of the two imperial languages was to be learned. Six hours per week were devoted to mathematics, and three hours for geography and biology; lessons in drawing (four hours) and calligraphy (two hours) were given as well. Talented or enthusiastic students could choose to take supplemental courses in French and Italian.[108]

The yearbooks include the names of the students per year and give some insight into the confessional variety of the school population. I took a random sample of the first-year enrollment at the Merchant School in 1908–9: 39 Catholic students, 37 Serbian Orthodox, 29 Sephardic Jewish ("Seph. Israelites"), 6 Ashkenazi ("Austrian Jewish"), 12 Muslims, and 4 students whose religious affiliation was not given. Most of the students (67) lived in Sarajevo, 33 came from other Bosnian towns, 12 were from the countryside, and 5 came from "abroad," which is to say from other districts, regions, and countries in the Empire.[109]

What we can learn from these data is, first of all, that the population of this merchant school was diverse. Most were from the mercantile Christian and Jewish elite of Sarajevo. The Muslims were a minority presence, and understandably so, since rich Muslims tended to belong to the landowning class, and most poor Muslims were free tenants. The many German, Slovak, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian names confirms the assumption that many pupils were children of *Kuferaši*, either expatriates from other parts of the Empire who sought their fortune in the province, or Habsburg officials working in Kállay's administration. The majority of these Central European migrants were Catholic.

In addition to the pedagogical school and merchant schools, the Austrians also founded schools according to the classical model of the *gymnasium*. The difference between these schools is best described by a classmate of Gavrilo Princip, who recalled: "In those times the merchant school was not respected among the students. Those who failed in *gymnasium* went to the merchant school to become one of the

[108] Arhiv BiH - *Cetrnaesti Godisnji Izvestaj Trgovacke Skole u Sarajevu za skolsku godinu 1907/1908* (Sarajevo 1908), 22.
[109] Arhiv BiH - *Prvi (XV.) Godisni Izvestaj Trgovacke Stručne Skole u Sarajevu za skolsku godinu* 1908/1909 (Sarajevo 1909) 40-44.

best students there. Princip was intelligent and very ambitious, so he couldn't bear the fact he was a student at such a weak school. So he passed the exams of a *gymnasium* in Tuzla, and he then enrolled in the Sarajevo *gymnasium*."[110]

Creating Intelligentsia

In Bosnia there was no significant educated elite until the Habsburg occupation.[111] The few educated men were mostly in the clergy. In his thorough study of the intelligentsia, Džaja mentions and provides figures for bona fide "intellectuals" in Bosnia and Hercegovina during the period 1840–78. He records that there were 10 bishops and other higher clergy, 95 schoolteachers, 60 writers, 56 editors of magazines and periodicals, and another 25 educated academics who were not part of the Ottoman bureaucracy.[112] Džaja uses a quite broad definition of an intellectual: a person who needs to write and read for work.

Some of these intellectuals played a role in the national movements of Serbs and Croats in the region, especially in the emancipation of confessional (Catholic, Orthodox) schools.[113] Others were simply isolated figures in remote villages: "lone readers," not positioned to share their knowledge with the illiterate peasant population. In the twenty years after 1878, when the Austrian school reforms were slowly being implemented, no great changes could be

[110] Ivo Kranjčević, *Uspomene jednog učesnika u sarajevskom atentatu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1964), 26-27.
[111] In some Western and Central European countries the educated were transformed into a class, as was the case, for example, with the *Bildungsbürgertum* in the German-speaking countries. In some Eastern European countries, and especially in Russia, the educated were transformed rather into a social milieu, a group of people who influenced politics and culture as outsiders. I will discuss this issue in greater detail in the fourth part. See: Denis Sdvižkov, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz. Zur vergleichenden Geschichten der Gebildeten in Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 9-30.
[112] Srečko Džaja, *Bosnien Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche 1878-1918. Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 15.
[113] Božidar Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu Samoupravu* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982); Mitar Papić, *Istorija Srpskih Škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978); Pero Slijepčević (ed.), *Napor Bosne i Hercegovina za Oslobođenje i Ujedinjenje* (Sarajevo: Narodna Odbrana, 1929), 79-107, 107-67.

observed. In his famous novel *The Bridge on the Drina*, Ivo Andrić describes how very few of the young, bright boys of Bosnia left their homes to receive some education in Central Europe; and if these students graduated, they would end up in the "gray and countless ranks of state bureaucracy." [114] It took several decades for Bosnia to experience the full impact of the Austrian education system.

In Western and Central Europe, the rise of a class (or a social group) of "intellectuals" had resulted, long before, in interesting social dynamics. To generalize about these highly different movements, classes, and loose networks – from the French *philosophes* to the Russian *inteligencija*, from the German *Bildungsbürgertum* to the *Geistesproletariat* – requires a high degree of abstraction.[115] But we can say that these new intellectual groups shared the impulse that their work should inspire *activism*, and it did; their words were to be made concrete through deeds. Intellectual developments led to mass movements, public demonstrations, and – in extreme cases – terrorist attacks. Intellectuals played a major role in the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, and afterwards the love for writing and reading was associated with a presumed need for literary-minded people to take action in the public sphere. Hence at first the Joint Ministry of Finance governing Bosnia feared encouraging the education of Bosnians who might possibly be transformed into vocal and perhaps subversive critics of the regime, state, church, and monarchy. Kállay nevertheless supported the founding of a *gymnasium* in Sarajevo for the brightest minds, because

[114] Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina* (New York: Macmillan, 1959) translation By Lovett F. Edwards Phoenix Edition E-book. Some scholars criticize the use of quotations from the literary work of Ivo Andrić. See: Celia Hawkesworth, "Andrić as Red Rag and Political Football," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80 (2002/2), 201-16: 215. Guido Snel, Op. Cit., 209. This argument is rejected by Bojan Aleksov, who claims that it is "impossible and futile" to separate the political from the artistic in the works of Andrić, because he was active in both fields and has influenced both politics and literature: Bojan Aleksov, "Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj and the Serbian Identity between Poetry and History," in: Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009), 273-305: 273. The use and misuse of Andrić's prose is also discussed in: Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998), 156-72.

[115] Sdvižkov, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz*, 21-31; Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*: *Teil I: Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleich* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985).

Bosnia could obviously not do without it. He would keep a close eye on the students' development.

Gymnasium

The first yearbook (1878–79) of the K. K. Realgymnasium of Sarajevo reveals the problems hampering educational efforts in Bosnia: "Our aspirations have met serious obstacles. These provinces did not have any organization for proper education in elementary schools, so a large part of the intelligent, inquisitive youth population could perhaps gain some knowledge but was not able to write nor read in his native language. Therefore it is necessary that the youth first learn how to write and read, before they enroll in a secondary school. [...] Until now, we could not find a sufficient number of students for a *gymnasium*."[116]

But things would change. The yearbook promises: "We start with little, but we will have significant successes. The students will be enriched not only with the knowledge that every educated person must acquire today, but they will also strengthen their moral capability and character, which is needed for them to become men of the nation, who reach for glory and will shine like role models for others."

The first group of Sarajevo *gymnasium* students consisted of approximately 26 Catholics, 19 Serbian Orthodox, 13 Muslims, 22 Jews, and 2 Protestants.[117] The appointed director was Ivan Branislav Zoch, an enthusiastic Protestant Slovak sent – or exiled – to the Balkans by Hungarian authorities, who deemed him a Pan-Slavic danger. His cheerful and naïve idealism is illustrated by the anecdote that in 1880 he went from door to door in the city to explain to parents why it would be a good idea to send children to school.[118]

It is interesting to see that religious background often coincided with social class: many Jewish students came from towns, while relatively often the Serbian Orthodox students had their homes in the countryside. The percentage breakdown of the 723 students who

[116] Arhiv BiH - *Jahrbericht des K.K. Realgymnasiums in Sarajevo 1878/1879* (Sarajevo 1880).
[117] Calculated from the yearbook, see previous footnote.
[118] Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske okupacije* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša 1972), 104.

graduated in the period between 1887 and 1918 runs as follows: 43% Catholic, 30% Serbian Orthodox, 14% Muslim, 11% Jewish (and 2 % from other confessional backgrounds).[119] Most *gymnasium* students were from Sarajevo, but quite a number of students came from distant regions such as Slavonia, Dalmatia, Galicia, and Bohemia.

Because of the confessional diversity in the classroom, the students, naturally, began to think about their identity. Categorizing these students as Orthodox, Muslim, or Catholic also *made* them Orthodox, Muslim, or Catholic.[120] These classrooms thus became "spaces of difference." An anecdote told by a classmate of Gavrilo Princip shows how these differences were sometimes experienced in the *gymnasium* classrooms. Ivo Kranjčević, labeled a Catholic, once helped Princip, labeled an Orthodox, when he was having difficulties with their teacher:

> "I stood up and testified that I had visited Princip the day before and saw him there in bed because of a fever, so he could not study. The teacher believed my story, and accepted Gavrilo's pretext. During the break Gavrilo came to me to thank me for the friendly help, which had puzzled him, because I was a Croat, and his Serbian classmates had laughed at him and had not done anything to help him."[121]

Student status

Besides religious diversity, there was remarkable social diversity in the classrooms. This was a new experience for some Austro-Hungarian teachers, who were familiar mostly with the strict hierarchical

[119] Džaja, op. cit., 140-43.
[120] The relations among identity, language, and power are discussed in: Andre Gingrich, "Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering," in: Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich (eds.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), 3-17; Gerd Baumann, "Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach," in: Idem, op. cit., 18-50. For an introduction to issues of language, meaning, and consciousness, see: Rodney B. Sangster, *Reinventing Structuralism: What Sign Relations Reveal about Consciousness* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013), 15-20.
[121] Ivo Kranjčević, *Uspomene jednog ucesnika u sarajevskom atentatu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1964), 26-27.

structures of Prussia and Austria. Some complained about the despicable manners of lower-class students. Therefore, the local authorities set many rules for the students, including regulations about doing homework, how to appeal to teachers, what kind of bars they were allowed to visit, and whether they were allowed to spit on the ground.[122] The Austrian military officer Oskar Potiorek, appointed *Landesschef* of Bosnia just a few years before the outbreak of the First World War, was astonished about the social variety in Bosnia's secondary schools and, as a result, the lack of good manners to be found there:

> "Whereas schools in other regions of the Empire take children from upper society, who have enjoyed a proper domestic education and who are familiar with our good civil traditions, […] here almost everyone can simply intrude upon the *Gymnasium*, and other high schools. The son of the peasant and the son of the grocer, and even the mentally less gifted: they all wish to become "educated sirs" just like the son of the lawyer, the state official, or the landowner."[123]

Indeed, members of the lower classes in Bosnia were given opportunities to climb the social ladder through their high-school education. Kállay's ideas about equality were also implemented in educational policy. A well-developed stipend system made it possible for poorer pupils to apply for money for schooling and thus gain better future prospects. In a country with such a small elite, almost no bourgeoisie, and a large percentage of poor people, the Austrian education system, as one would expect, resulted in some important social changes. Schools were the locus of growing political awareness. Robert Donia therefore called the education reforms of Austria-Hungary a Pyrrhic victory, because "through the halls of Sarajevo's secular public schools passed many who would become the empire's most passionate critics, including a few who would hatch a conspiracy to assassinate the heir apparent to the imperial throne."[124] Hroch speaks

[122] Zemaljski Muzej - *Školski Glasnik* (1910), 34.
[123] Cited in: Džaja, op. cit., 138.
[124] Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), 88.

in this respect of the "counterproductive effect of the democratization of education", when generations of newly educated have different and often competing perspectives on the society of the elderly.[125]

Thus, new social dynamics brought with them emergent forms of social strain. In his study about the connection between education and radicalization in late-nineteenth-century Russia, Daniel Brower stressed that especially the students from the lower ranks were potential troublemakers because, having no "natural" connection to the nobility, they had to choose between assimilation or opposition.[126] These students would either jettison their lower-class ballast or would organize themselves against the reigning class society of Russia. Although Bosnia was not a typical class society, I argue that aspects of this interpretation can be – partly – applied to what developed through the Sarajevo *gymnasium*. The Serbian peasant students in particular obtained access to the higher, urban ranks of society. This sudden upward mobility influenced their political awareness and triggered rebelliousness, albeit contained within the sphere of education.

At the same time we can observe the merging of classes, and the rise of a new class. The prospect of a career based on learning, education, and reading softened some of the differences in the students' social backgrounds. The shared idea that they all could climb the social ladder because of their ability to learn, rather than because of family ties or class privilege, promoted a sense of solidarity among them. Hence the *gymnasium* created new points of identification, and the students became their own social group. A memoir of a schoolmate of Gavrilo Princip describes the appearance of the archetypical *gymnasium* student: "You could recognize the students by their black capes, made of the cheapest material, covering the holes in their suits. Many wore black hats on their heads, with slits on the sides. These hats were called "radikalskis," a name that most probably originated from Serbia. By wearing a stiff collar and a tie, tied up in a knot at the top button to the top button of their shirts, they showed that the boys had become adolescents."[127]

---

[125] Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, 142.
[126] Daniel R. Brower, *Educating the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 110.
[127] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 62.

This passage cited above shows that the "students" were seen as part of a new subculture: they communicated with one another and identified themselves through newly introduced dress codes, rituals, and symbols. The students were, or at least felt they were a new segment in society. Several reasons for this can be identified. First, they consciously identified with the great calling of learning, and were the alleged "flower of the nation." Second, students also became a social group that felt and was explicitly adolescent in character. The idea of being "young," of moving through a defining phase between childhood and adulthood, became a point of identification and recognition.[128] In return, citizens which were not consciously young started to recognize the students as a new culture, a new group in society. Ivo Andrić describes in his *Bridge on the Drina* how the students even changed the image of the city, in this case Višegrad, as well as its language, culture, manners, and rituals:

> "At the end of June a group of students from the Sarajevo secondary school arrived in the town and in the first half of July students of law, medicine and philosophy from the Universities of Vienna, Prague, Graz and Zagreb, began to arrive one by one. With their arrival even the outward aspect of the town began to change. Their young faces could be seen in the market-place and on the *kapia* and they were easily distinguishable by their bearing, their speech and their clothes from the established customs and unchanging clothing of the townspeople. They wore clothes of dull colors and the latest cut. This was the "Glockenfacon" then considered the height of fashion and the best of taste in all Central Europe. On their heads they wore soft Panama hats with turned-down brims and ribbons of six different but discreet colors; on their feet wide American shoes with sharply turned up toes. Most of them carried very thick bamboo

[128] This "identification" with peers of the same age is a process analyzed by sociologists. Mike Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain, and Canada* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1985), Chapter 1; Philip Abrams, "Rites de Passage: The Conflict of Generations in Industrial Society" *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 Nr. 1 (1970), 175-190:186.

canes and in the lapels of their coats they wore metal Sokol badges or those of some student organization."[129]

This passage gives an indication of what Ivo Andrić, himself a contemporary of the young Bosnians, saw as the result of the schooling system: he refers to Central Europe, Prague, Graz, Zagreb; we read about new fashions, including Panama hats and American shoes; there are songs and words from Serbia and Germany… In short: the Austro-Hungarian schools connected Bosnia to a wider world.

The Society for the Support of Serbian Students

After Kállay began to realize that it was impossible to turn the Bosnians into docile citizens, he became more pragmatic. Shortly before he died in 1903, he yielded to requests for the establishment of cultural institutions serving the confessional communities of Bosnia. He granted the Serbs permission to found the cultural institute *Prosvjeta* ("Enlightenment," founded 1902), and ensured there would be analogous institutions for the Croats (*Napredak*, "Progress," founded 1904) and the Bosnian Muslims (*Gajret*, "Zeal," founded 1903).[130] An institution for Sephardic Jews, *La Benevolencia* ("Benevolence"), had been founded a few years before. Since the Jewish community kept aloof from national struggle, this institution posed no threat to the Austrian administration.

In these cultural institutions poor Bosnian students could apply for scholarships for secondary and university education. From this small task, the organization's activities expanded to include the organizing of cultural and social events, ranging from literary courses and classical-music concerts to gymnastics hours and agricultural campaigns. In fact, most of these events gave cover for the underlying

[129] From translation By Lovett F. Edwards (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959), as reprinted in *Nobel Prize Library: S. Y. Agnon / Ivo Andrić* (New York: A. Gregory, 1971), 278.

[130] Tomislav Išek, *Mjesto i uloga HKD Napredak u kulturnom životu Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine* (1902-1918) (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju Sarajeva, 2002); Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga 'Gajreta' u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine 1903-1941* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986); Božo Madžar, *Prosvjeta. Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo 1902-1949* (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauke RS, 2002).

aims of the institutions. Within a few years of the death of Kállay in 1903, these cultural centers were transformed into political organizations with a national agenda. *Prosvjeta,* the Serbian cultural institute, was the most active and perhaps the most coherent institution, helped by the Serbs having a cultural, economic and political (and revolutionary) patron in the neighboring country of Serbia. Another reason for *Prosvjeta'*s success was the success of some Serb merchants in the city and their acquisition of significant capital.

Prosvjeta developed a variety of tasks to enlighten the population. Reading was a priority. *Prosvjeta* spread knowledge among the Bosnian Serb community by founding reading rooms in many towns and villages. By its tenth year, *Prosvjeta* was coordinating a network of 36 reading rooms, where 2,240 members could read around 10,000 books.[131] Another core business of *Prosvjeta* was the support of Serbian choirs in Bosnia. Besides the very popular choirs *Gusle* from Mostar and *Sloga* from Sarajevo, there were 26 other singing societies in Bosnia, scattered all around the countryside. [132] The temperance societies (*Pobratimstvo*) were also monitored by *Prosvjeta*, as were the fitness societies (*Sokol*). The Sokols in particular were deemed very dangerous by Austrian authorities because of their fierce nationalist atmosphere and the masculine, muscular appearance of their members. Kállay's successor, the Hungarian István Baron Burian von Rajeczi, who took office in 1903, saw it as his duty to curb the power of *Prosvjeta*. But he soon realized this was a fight against the odds. Important Serbian newspapers such as *Srpska Riječ* ("Serbian Word," a radical nationalist daily) and *Narod* ("People"), incited the already stirred-up Bosnian Serbs against the Austrians.

Prosvjeta's major task remained the providing of student stipends. It subsidized many successful Bosnian students who would become the most active representatives of a new, radical Bosnian Serb generation, including Vladimir Gaćinović, Dimitrije Mitrinović, Petar Kočić, Bogdan Žerajić, and later Danilo Ilić and Gavrilo Princip. Obviously those stipends were not to be granted for nothing: *Prosvjeta*

[131] Prosvjeta (Sarajevo) - *Spomenica desetgodišnjice Prosvjete* (Sarajevo, 1912), 107-8.
[132] Ibidem, 106.

expected something in return from this younger generation. With help from *Prosvjeta* the network of the most talented and radical young Bosnian students was reinforced, so that they could mobilize themselves.

When *Prosvjeta* was founded in 1902 there were only 35 Bosnian Serbs who had graduated from a university.[133] This is not much larger than a group of students who could fit in one classroom. They all must have known one another personally; the (higher) educational network of the Bosnian Serbs was a very "small world" with close ties. In the next chapter, therefore, I follow mostly individuals on their routes through the Austro-Hungarian educational network. These individuals were pioneers from an intellectually backward society. I then show how their extended network through literary circles was crucial to the development of cultural, and eventually political, divisions. Alternatively, I could have unearthed the networks of the temperance or singing societies, but I presume that literary activities exerted a more lasting impact on national awareness.

1.3 Conclusions: The educational networks

Part I (Schools) discussed how political and cultural changes in the last decades of the 19th century enhanced the participation process of a younger generation of Bosnians, with special regard to the Bosnian Serbs. I aim to articulate three observations, and use them as basic conclusions for research in the other parts.

The first conclusion is historical, and is based on the assumption that people in social and political chaos feel the need to control. Seeking control is, in this respect, seeking an identity. Harrison White has explained this in his book *Identity and Control*, in which he states that the search for identity is strongly connected with the universal human need to control chaos.[134] Speaking about Bosnia, chaos there was. The transformation process, from an Ottoman to an Austro-Hungarian society, was the background against which the

[133] Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austro-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan States 1875-1908* (New York: Boulder, 2002), 163.
[134] White, *Identity and Control* (1992), 4.

younger generation could get into the position to begin identifying with a culture. The years of the wars between Omer Paša and the Bosnian lords in the 1850s, which I mentioned in the historical introduction of this chapter, can be seen as the starting point of this transformation process. It goes without saying that the main reason that the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied and annexed the Ottoman provinces was to *control* the turbulent region (seen from an international, geopolitical perspective). But, in a more local context, the late- nineteenth-century turmoil laid the foundation for identities seeking control – for all Bosnians, regardless of their faith. So, Austro-Hungary's political wish to control the region enhanced the process of identifications in the local context. In other words, the international turbulence started identification processes that would shatter the old categorizations of the Ottoman society, and prevent new categorizations of the Austrian authorities from becoming manifest. Particularly the Austrian proposal for a Bosnian identity for all Bosnians unintentionally fostered the emancipation of (subaltern) counter-identities: Serbs, Croats and yet Bosniaks.

The second conclusion is historical and partly sociological, and is about the impact and consequences of these aforementioned categorizations in the Bosnian society. Categorization, as a concept, is a political practice that follows directly after the need to control. Brubaker considers categorization as both a political project and an "everyday social practice."[135] If we look at categorization from above, as in the instances of the Ottoman and Austrian identity policies, we can conclude that this indeed had a lasting impact on the stratification of Bosnian society. For example, the Ottoman distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims was initially a religious categorization, but it subsequently dictated the structure of the society, and, for centuries, its discriminatory aspects determined the people's consciousness. I would like to add the aspect of discourse here. For example, the typical Ottoman Turkish word *raya* (herd), a word still used in idiomatic Bosnian meaning "common, non-elite people," influenced people's

[135] Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 71.

mindsets and worldviews.[136] When we want to explain the historical background of the categorization processes in the Bosnian context, we can put it bluntly: the Ottoman "cattle" (*raya*) became Austrian "children" (in the colonial discourse). Thus, in the period described, the monopolist of categorization changed but the system remained to a substantial extent the same. When, in 1878, the Otttoman ruling elite was replaced by the Austrian administration, the *categories* were newly introduced. The Austrians basically aimed at establishing an egalitarian society with a strong Bosnian identity that would, above all, differ from Serbian or Croat identities. The proposed identity was challenged by leaders from *previously identified groups*, who had, some decades before, challenged the Ottoman categorization. Interestingly, when the Austrians brought in the issue of categorization, it was solved and taken over by the local communities. In fact, the colonial discourse of the Austrian administration gave birth to new processes of identification and anticipation. Bosnian Serb periodicals such as *Bosanska Vila*, which will be discussed in the next part, actively battled the colonial discourse by shaping a counter-identity. This was, however, not an easy task, as I have described in this part. In *Bosanska Vila*, for example, writers could hardly reach consensus about the identification of religiosity, ethnicity, rurality, urbanity, etc. Were Serbs Orthodox? What about Croatian Serbs and Muslim Croats? And was someone who worked for the Austrian government still a "true" Serb? The categorization practice was reinterpreted in the new Bosnian media, read by a growing number of literate Bosnians.

This brings me to the final - seemingly paradoxical - statement that the Austrian education policy played into the hands of future opponents. Schools first became spaces of social communication, but, after some decades of colonial rule, they turned into incubators for political activists. Schools obviously broadened the contrast between the literate vanguard, and the illiterate masses, so the schools had a socialization function for the young.These new spaces of interaction

[136] Jasmin Mujanović, "Princip, Valter, Pejić, and the Raja: Elite Domination and Betrayal in Bosnia-Hercegovina," *South-East European Journal of Political Science* 1 Nr. 1 (2013) 106-20.

then transformed into the educational network, from which the "young movement" in Bosnia could emerge.

Many scholars of social movements have shown that it is not isolation and marginalization, but actually stronger and broader networks that inspire people to be drawn into a power-challenging struggle.[137] The progress Austro-Hungary brought to Bosnia may have *accelerated* rather than halted anti-Austrian agitation. This was, first, because people had more time and opportunities to speak out. Second, only if people start to move around do they become aware of their misery, their problems, and social differences. Therefore, I do not see anti-Austrian agitation only as an expression of a desire for freedom – a popular interpretation in Yugoslav and Serbian historiography. In this part I argue that anti-Austrian activism was, besides a reaction, also a consequence of Austrian policy. Thanks to a steadily improving economic and cultural infrastructure, the young Bosnians could be educated and form their own ideas regarding the Empire and the Monarchy, and how to oppose it. As a consequence of the emancipation of the various cultural communities, the critique towards the Empire grew louder and stronger. Paradoxically, gifted students could enlarge their personal and social network, *thanks* to Austrian stipends (!), or stipends provided by the new cultural infrastructure of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia (for example, institutes like *Prosvjeta*). This does not mean that the young Bosnians were supposed to be grateful towards the colonizer. On the contrary: the humiliating colonial discourse of the Austro-Hungarian authorities show that the new generations of Bosnia were regarded as children. The conclusion I draw from the educational policy is that the "upbringing" of the backward Bosnians was, in the end, counterproductive for the colonizer. The colonized Bosnians began participating in the "real world" – outside the schoolyard.

[137] Doug McAdams, "Beyond Structural Analysis: Towards a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements," in: Doug McAdams and Mario Diani (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 281-98: 283.

Part II: Reading Rooms

Introduction: a cultural geneology

Colonial education created space for intellectual developments, not just inside but outside the schoolyard. In this case study I focus mainly on the Bosnian Serbs and their "intellectual spaces": periodicals, reading rooms, secret school societies. Because of the upbringing in the "adult social context" of reading rooms and foreign universities, these Bosnian Serb students had the luxury to experience a modern type of adolescence.[1] In other words, they "became" modern youth in these reading rooms that gave them access to Europe's various expressions of modernity.

As explained in the introduction, it is misleading to consider "Mlada Bosna" as a kind of association whose members support a coherent plan. However, the name has a short prehistory. "Mlada Bosna" appears for the first time in 1911 in the title of an article written by the Bosnian Serb activist Vladimir Gaćinović. The short text, published in the calendar of the Serbian cultural association *Prosvjeta*, discusses a Greater Serbian mission in Bosnia.[2] Gaćinović writes about Young Bosnia as a generation with the historical task of liberating the poor (Serbian) people of Bosnia from perpetual poverty and Austrian oppression. Two years later, in 1913, the Bosnian Serb writer Borivoje Jevtić mentioned "Mlada Bosna" in an article about a generation of writers.[3] It is striking that he wrote above all about *writers*, rather than rebels or revolutionaries. In a 1917 obituary for Vladimir Gaćinović, "Mlada Bosna" was first used as it is known today: as the name of the organization whose members included Gavrilo Princip and others involved in the conspiracy to assassinate Franz Ferdinand in 1914.[4]

---

[1] I borrowed the notion "adult social context" from John Neubauer, who refers to it in: *The Fin-de-Siècle culture of adolescence*, 47.
[2] Vladimir Gaćinović, "Mlada Bosna" *Prosvjeta Kalendar 1911*, in: *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića* (Sarajevo: (n.p.), 1921) 32-34.
[3] Borivoje Jevtić, "Mlada Bosna" *Bosanska Vila* (30 December 1913), in: Predrag Palavestra (ed.), *Književnost Mlade Bosne II (Hrestomatija)* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965) 50-54.
[4] *Srpske Novine* (Corfu) 16/08/1917, cited in: Wayne Vucinich, "Mlada Bosna and the First World War," in: Robert A. Kann et al. (eds.), *The Habsburg Empire in World War*

In this part I look into the genealogy of this "Mlada Bosna" of both writers and revolutionaries and identify the pioneering anti-Austrian Bosnian Serb individual activists in the intellectual circles of the newest imperial province. Why focus on individuals? Since there were no more than one hundred people in the Bosnian Serb intellectual vanguard, I think it reasonable to assume that their networks were small enough to allow individual actors to play decisive roles. Anthropologist Geert Banck wrote in the 1970s that the first important assumption is the notion that "social networks have to do with (social) individuals, rather than with groups."[5] Still, social organization produces the fluid networks that intellectual and cultural interaction develop into. For example, a hub, or even a "society," is created when individuals begin meeting regularly for certain political reasons – as in Mostar, which became an important center of Bosnian Serb protest activities.

2.1 Mostar - the dawn of the poets

Not Sarajevo, but the Hercegovinan capital of Mostar was the most vibrant cultural and political locale in Bosnia in the last two decades before 1900.[6] Here began the political mobilization of the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims. Why in Mostar? First, in the administrative center of Sarajevo, it was easier and more opportune to seek rapprochement with the new Austrian hegemonic power. Mostar had no strong ties to the administrative center of Sarajevo, so political or cultural issues were addressed using other, more activist means. Second, a periphery always possesses a special dynamic towards the political hegemony. Perhaps Mostar's isolated position made its rapid cultural renaissance more likely. Local authors tend to explain the peculiarity of

I: Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Efforts (New York: Boulder, 1977), 45-70: 64.

[5] Geert A. Banck, "Network Analysis and Social Theory" in: Jeremy Boissevain and J. Clyde Mitchel (eds.), *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1973), 37-45:37.

[6] The question whether Mostar or Sarajevo was "more" cultural around 1900 has been discussed in several local monographs. See: Todor Kruševac, *Bosanskohercegovački Listovi u XIX Veku* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978) 360-361 (footnote 1). See also: Draga Mastilović, "Mostar kao kulturni srediste hercegovačkih Srba krajem XIX i pocetkom XX vijeka," *Doprinos Srba Bosne i Hercegovine nauci i kulturi: Zbornik radova* (Pale: Fil. Fak. Univ. Istocnog Sarajeva, 2007), 279-303.

Mostar's development via ethno-psychological arguments, referring to the stereotype of the stern, stubborn "Dinaric" man of Hercegovina.[7] However, the most convincing reason for Mostar's flowering was its small but economically active bourgeoisie.[8]

In Sarajevo the local elite maintained good relations with the authorities, because doing so would strengthen the existing hierarchy and thus bolster their own position. Mostar, however, had neither a settled nor a balanced social hierarchy, and so it was easier for specific individuals to challenge the existing order. Friction, and "social noise" (White) are crucial in creating a sense of identity (or identification).[9] The "brokers," crucial intermediates between the ruling authorities and the personal networks of the elites of Mostar's confessional groups, were often controversial figures in the city. The merchant class of both the Christian and Muslim communities were important, as was the Muslim landowning class. There was much potential for "factional rivalry" in Mostar, and thus the fashioning of identities through friction with other groups. [10]

Schools: Theaters of Conflict

As in Sarajevo, the school – and not only the *gymnasium* – played an important role in the polarization, politicization, and emancipation of Mostar's confessional groups.[11] When the public *gymnasium* opened in 1893, there were already schools in Mostar, including a merchant school and a variety of Orthodox and Muslim elementary schools. Mostar was where conflicts centering on religious education and control of secular education began. Among the confessional communities the idea rose that something had to be done to oppose the propaganda of the Austrians.

[7] See: Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 11-29; Predrag Palavestra, "Srbi u Mostaru," in: Borivoje Pištalo (ed.), *Srbi u Mostaru: Rasprave i ogledi* (Belgrade: Svet Knjige, 2001), 5-11. For more about the issue of ethno-psychology in South-Slavic discourses, see: Marko Živković, "Violent Highlanders and Peaceful Lowlanders: Uses and Abuses of Ethno-Geography in the Balkans from Versailles to Dayton," *Replika* (1997), 107-20.
[8] Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine*, 438.
[9] Harrison C. White, *Identity and Control: A Structural Theory of Social Action* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1992), 313-14.
[10] Robert Donia addresses the specific characteristics of Mostar in his work on Bosnian Muslims and concludes that the social network of Mostar Muslims was "prone to move into *bipolar factional rivalry*." Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, xiv-xv.
[11] For an overview of (Bosnian Serb) schools in Mostar, see: Dušan Berić, "Srbi u Mostaru i njegovoj okolini 1844-1918," in: Pištalo, *Srbi u Mostaru*, 131-42.

Particularly discontented were the Serbs and Muslims, who wanted to exercise control over children's education – for nationalist or religious reasons.[12] They thought that education, Western or not, should be monitored by Bosnia's confessional elites. The Bosnian Serb magazine *Bosanska Vila* explained in its inaugural issue why it felt Austrian education to be dangerous: "Cannons and guns have had their day, and if somewhere their rumbling and clanking are still heard – it is for the last time; today peoples and countries are conquered by a far more convenient, but also a far more dangerous means: culture and books."[13] The fight for autonomy for Serbian confessional schools dated from the beginning of the Austrian occupation, but started to become really serious around 1895. Kállay's suspicions had resulted in harsh penalties and restrictions imposed on Serbian schools, elementary and high schools alike. Many teachers were expelled, and according to some Serbian intellectuals, various aspects of Serbian culture, such as the Cyrillic script and the traditions of the Orthodox, were being neglected in the classrooms. Dissatisfied, Mostar Serbs sent a memorandum to Vienna asking for a decent Serbian school system in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Beginning as a conflict of interests, this fight for autonomy in education expanded to be a major locus of national struggle. Schools became theatres of conflict.

The Dawn of the Poets

A special feature of Mostar's cultural milieu was the presence of some very active Bosnian Serb poets, including Aleksa Šantić (1868-1924), Jovan Dučić (1871-1943), and Svetozar Ćorović (1875-1919) – representatives all of the "golden age of Serbian poetry."[14] Poetry was then exceedingly popular; thanks to new innovations in press technologies, and to a growing literate audience, writing and publishing

[12] I discuss here mainly the Bosnian Serb reaction to Austro-Hungarian education policy. For a more detailed analysis of the situation of the Mostar Muslims, see: Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, 400-430; Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 90-127.
[13] Cited in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 83.
[14] Šantić and Dučić are prominently represented in: Mihailo Dordevic (ed.), *Anthology of Serbian Poetry: The Golden Age* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1984). Further reading: Staniša Tutnjević, "Književni i kulturni život Mostara," in: Pištalo, *Srbi u Mostaru*, 343-452.

poetry had become easier for many more people.[15] Poetry was not something solely for the elite but was rather a mass product, reaching a large audience of fans. Indeed, nineteenth century Romantic poets such as Lord Byron had been "rock stars" of their era. Because South Slav culture at that time was "overwhelmingly literary" (Okey), poetry was the ultimate means of expression in Bosnia's intellectual circles.[16] Poets often saw themselves as leaders or guides of the nation, and therefore they were adored in an almost religious sense. There was even the tradition of transferring and reburying a dead poet's remains as if they were holy relics.[17]

Members of the Mostar circle of Bosnian Serb poets had enjoyed contact with the wider European world. Aleksa Šantić, for example, had studied in Trieste and Ljubljana before he returned to his hometown. Back in Mostar he founded the Serbian patriotic choir "Gusle" and was editor-in-chief of the modernist literary periodical *Zora* [Dawn]. Other persons in this circle of intellectuals include Svetozar Ćorović and his brother Vladimir, a historian. Both were born and raised in Mostar, but had been educated in Central Europe. After Vladimir finished his studies at the *gymnasium*, he studied in Vienna (later, in the interwar period, he became one of Yugoslavia's most distinguished academics).[18] Another poet from the Mostar region was Jovan Dučić, who, after finishing at the *gymnasium*, was educated in Geneva and Paris and became known as one of the founding fathers of Serbian symbolism.[19] It is worth mentioning that these Mostar pioneers, the children of upper-class merchants, studied abroad without any government stipend.

Zora ("a journal for entertainment, education, and literature") was, at first sight, a literary periodical.[20] Predrag Palavestra pointed out that this meant that the editors had no political aspirations, an assertion

[15] Geert Buelens, *Europa! Europa! Over de dichters van de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam: Ambo, 2009), 7-40.
[16] Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 194.
[17] Bojan Aleksov, "Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj and the Serbian Identity between Poetry and History," in: Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009), 273-305: 274.
[18] For a short biographical outline see: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 231.
[19] A rather superficial and anecdotal biography is: Kosta Pavlović, *Jovan Dučić* (Belgrade: Otkrovenje, 2001).
[20] *Zora* has been digitized and can be found here: http://ubsm.bg.ac.rs/cirilica/zbirka/novina/zora-1896-1901 [accessed January 2015].

that was convincingly rejected by several authors.[21] The literary articles and poems in *Zora* were perhaps written in a personal and non-political modernist style, but still the content was highly politicized, because it referred to patriotic feelings among the Bosnian Serbs and was colored by the ideology of spreading nationalism via culture. The fact that *Zora* was founded shortly after the Austro-Hungarian administration had launched the pro-government literary journal *Nada* ("Hope") must be taken into account as well.[22]

Interestingly, *Zora* did not publish Serbian traditional epic poems, but instead wanted to bring the finest European literature to Bosnian readers, through fresh, modern and newly written poetry. *Zora* was printed in the Cyrillic script and focused on Serbian, French, and Russian literature rather than on German or Hungarian writing.[23] Although very Serbian in style and character, the journal also included contributions by Muslim authors, who nevertheless presented themselves as "Muslim Serbs." One of them was Osman Đikić, again a poet, and one of the top students of the Mostar *gymnasium*. In a letter to the editor of the Bosnian Serb periodical *Bosanska Vila*, he wrote: "I can guarantee you my life, because this is my motto: My head I give, but not my Serbianhood [*srpstvo*]."[24] Đikić was an interesting figure. Expelled from the Mostar *gymnasium* for his political activities, he finished his studies in Istanbul and in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. He inspired a future generation of young rebels, including Vladimir Gaćinović, Dimitrije Mitrinović, and Bogdan Žerajić – three figures I will later discuss in greater detail. There were almost no Croat contributions to *Zora*. One of the few contributions from Croatia was by the young modernist writer

[21] Vervaet, *Centar i Periferija*, 237; Slobodanka Peković , "Model časopisa na početku veka" in: Idem (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na pocetku veka 1895-1914* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska 1992), 10-16:11.
[22] Milojkovic-Djuric, *The Eastern Question*, 99-100.
[23] It was modeled after the French literary journals in style and design. See: Aleksandra Kolakovic, "The Serbian Elite and the Issue of Development of National Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century," in: Antonello Biagini (ed.), *Empires and Nations from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century: Volume I* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 231-42: 236.
[24] Letter Osman Đikić to Nikola Kašiković, dated 4/1/1898, cited in: Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, 295.

Antun Gustav Matoš, who aligned with the Young Croats.[25] The Croats of Bosnia had their own literary or religious magazines.[26]

Jeremy Boissevain, an authority on social networks, has written: "Education is an important resource, and thus is also a form of power."[27] The educated vanguard of Mostar had broader horizons than their non-educated neighbors, which made them special and powerful. They were spiders in a web connected to Europe. Dučić studied abroad in the Francophone academic world and in Serbia; Šantić was in contact with the Italian academic world; and the Ćorović brothers, particularly Vladimir, were in touch with the German-speaking academic world of Vienna and other cities in the Empire. The poet Đikić connected Mostar to both Belgrade and Istanbul. Together they "mapped" different European cultural spheres, from Paris to Istanbul and from Belgrade to Geneva. If we follow the concept of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, it is obvious that globalization (or at least Europeanization) and the development of infrastructure in education, technology, and print media (plus print capitalism) enhanced the shared or imagined feelings of identity in the previously backward milieu of peripheral Bosnia, particularly by means of periodicals and books.[28] *Zora*, therefore, was more than just an artistic periodical. Literary scholar Palavestra describes the importance of *Zora* with a sense of pathos: "In the small Hercegovian town, in the periphery of Europe, deep in the province that was recently wrenched from the oriental Turks, on the cobblestones, in small shops, new literary work was born, and writers appeared without whom we could not imagine modern Serbian literature."[29]

---

[25] Ljubica Tomić-Kovač, "Književna kritika u mostarskoj *Zori* (1896-1901)" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na početku veka 1895-1914* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 265-269: 262.
[26] Džaja, op. cit., 96-100; Todor Kruševac, *Bosanskohercegovački Listovi u XIX Veku* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978), 332-59; Risto Besarović, *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu 1878-1918* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1974), 97-125; Vervaet, *Centar i Periferija*, 179-92, 222-34; Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 109-122.
[27] Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), 86.
[28] See chapter 3 ("The Origins of National Consciousness") in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/New York: Verso, 2006), 37-46.
[29] Palavestra, *Književnost Mlada Bosna* I, 33

Anderson's model, however, needs to be supplemented with an awareness that journals alone do not connect people or forge intellectual networks: this requires a readership.

Reading Rooms

The Austrians allowed the opening of several "reading rooms" (*čitaonice*), where members of reading societies could read newspapers and other periodicals from within Bosnia and from abroad. In alignment with the confessional pillars of Bosnian society, there were Catholic, Serbian Orthodox, and Muslim reading rooms. Newspapers were read there, and these *čitaonice* became spaces of communication and identification.[30] In the reading rooms more Bosnians became involved in the intellectual developments going on around them. And students from the *gymnasia* using the reading rooms had access to magazines in German and French. In today's age of global news networks on the internet, of blogging, streaming, and podcasts, having a glance at foreign media seems banal, but for those in Mostar in 1900, this was a staggering experience. Jon Neubauer wrote about new "adolescent spaces" and mentioned the "room" as one of the most important ones.[31]

In 1866 there had been only two printers in all of Bosnia; by 1918 there were forty.[32] Shortly after 1878 the authorities financed and supported the circulation of pro-Austrian Bosnian newspapers and other periodicals, aimed especially at constructing a sense of secular Bosnian nationhood ("*Bosnjaštvo*").[33] The strictness of late-nineteenth-century Austrian censorship eventually proved to be counterproductive, so after 1900 ever more nationalist newspapers were tolerated, especially after Kállay's death in 1903. The first outspoken Bosnian Serb and anti-Austrian newspaper from Mostar, *Srpski Vjesnik*, began its run in 1897 and was printed where *Zora* was printed.[34] In response, Bosnian Muslims

[30] About tracing space and networks see: White, *Identity and Control*, (1992), 70-71.
[31] Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture Of Adolescence*, 64 67-71.
[32] Džaja, op. cit., 85.
[33] Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, 188-89; Džaja, op. cit., 89.
[34] Kraljačić, op. cit., 173-74; Jaroslav Vega, *Das architektonische Erbe Mostars aus der Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Verwaltung: Das architektonische Programm im Dienste der Durchführung des politischen Programms der Habsburger Monarchie von 1878 bis 1918* (Graz: Verlag der TU Graz, 2006) 77-81; Ranko Popović, "Književna kritika u *Narodu* i *Srpskom Vjesniku*" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i*

and Bosnian Croats were allowed to publish their more nationalist periodicals. Interestingly, some of these magazines received sums of money from, respectively, Serbia or Croatia.[35]

Individual actors played an important role in the spreading of nationalism. Looking at the Bosnian Serbs, we may regard the Mostar circle, including Šantić and Đikić, as brokers in a network, and – eventually, when taking into account the power of education as a useful resource – as patrons. Still, their importance was restricted to literature. Although *Zora* was indeed proudly Serbian, there was relatively little friction between its editors and the Austrian authorities. Perhaps the editors were too sophisticated to create conflicts: Aleksa Šantić's father was a well-to-do merchant in Mostar, just like the father of the Ćorović brothers. They had a vested interest in maintaining good connections with the Joint Ministry of Finance. In the end *Zora* may have had political motives, but it was not an influential publication and reached only a narrow, well-educated, upper-class audience. The "challenging group" (Gamson) of the social movement against the Austro-Hungarian occupation was to be formed elsewhere.[36]

2.2 *Bosanska Vila*: Mixing Culture with Politics

The ultimate platform for Serb nationalism in Bosnia around 1900 was the periodical *Bosanska Vila* (*Bosnian Fairy*), founded in Sarajevo in 1885 by four primary-school teachers.[37] *Bosanska Vila* was unlike *Zora*

moderno u srpskim časopisima na pocetku veka 1895-1914 (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 271-286: 272-276.

[35] Džaja, op. cit., 90. The financing of magazines was one of the main concerns of the Austrian censors and its espionage activities. Examples of the Austro-Hungarian control of sponsorship can be found in: HHSTA 75 – P.A. XIX Serbien – Liasse XI/ 1-4 (full box).

[36] The concept of the "challenging group" is taken from: William A. Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (London: Dorsey Press, 1975), 14-27.

[37] Dejan Đuričković, *Bosanska Vila 1885-1914* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 19-20; Milana Bikicki, "Bosanska Vila i njeni saradnici iz Vojvodine" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na pocetku veka 1895-1914* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 309-316; Muhsin Rizvić, "Uloga redakcije u književnom

in that it outspokenly presented itself as a periodical with a specific national mission. An image of the controversial Serbian priest Sava Kosanović was printed on the first page of the first issue, provoking the ire of the authorities.[38] In the other articles in this inaugural number the tone was unmistakably activist: Austro-Hungary was supposed to be afraid of *Bosanska Vila*. Additionally, its literary offerings, both short stories and poems, were meant to foster feelings of national identity among Serbs in Bosnia. According to Vervaet, we can consider *Bosanska Vila* to be a mirror, not only of Bosnia's general cultural development of Bosnia but also of the specific evolution of Serb nationalism in Bosnia during the Habsburg occupation and annexation.[39]

During its first years *Bosanska Vila* published mainly classic stories from the epic tradition of the Serbs. Because they wanted to reach as many readers as possible, the periodical did not have high standards about the quality of texts. When, in 1887, Nikola Kašiković was appointed editor, the pro-Serb orientation of *Bosanska Vila* became even more prominent.[40] Kašiković was a graduate of the Sarajevo school and had attended a pedagogical school in Sombor (Hungarian Vojvodina) before returning to Sarajevo to become a teacher.[41] He collected and published Serbian stories from all over the Balkans, in order to counter aggressive Austrian propaganda. *Bosanska Vila* began an attempt to shape a new Serbian sense of identity in reaction to the Austrian concept of *Bosnjaštvo*. Because the elite of Bosnia proper was so small, most contributors to *Bosanska Vila* were from other regions. They were in general not from Serbia but from multinational regions of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, such as Vojvodina, Banat, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

---

određenju časopisa *Bosanska Vila*" in: Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i Moderno*, 23-36:24.

[38] *Bosanska Vila* 1 Nr. 1 (1885). http://scc.digital.bkp.nb.rs/collection/bosanska-vila [accessed April 2015]

[39] Stijn Vervaet, "*Bosanska Vila* i Dvojna monarhija. Književni program bosanskohercegovačkih Srba i kulturna politika Austrougarske." In: *Susret kultura: Zbornik radova* (Univerzitet u Novom Sadu: Filozofski fakultet 2006) 659–669.

[40] Kallay considered Kašiković "supremely dangerous." Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 87. More about Kašiković is given in: Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austro-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States 1875-1908* (New York: Boulder, 2002), 138-46; Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne I*, 47-48. Kašiković was a member of a commission dealing with the question of script in the Bosnian schools. Bogićević, *Pismenost*, 273.

[41] Kruševac, *Bosanske Hercegovačke Listovi*, 315.

The early circulation of *Bosanska Vila* shows how little Bosnia at that time was connected to Serbia proper: 387 subscribers lived in Bosnia, 157 of which were in Sarajevo; there were 193 from other countries and regions, of which only 9 were in Belgrade.[42]

The periodical was partly financed by the Joint Ministry of Finance, and thus its content was censored. It was forbidden to discuss political or confessional issues. An official memorandum outlined that the censors should also ensure that "entertaining content" did not express too much Serbian nationalism.[43] On several occasions Kašiković was fined and even arrested for either publishing uncensored content or insulting policemen.[44] *Bosanska Vila* reached only a small segment of the Bosnian Serb community because of its low literacy rates, but nevertheless its circulation grew from a little fewer than 1000 subscribers in 1885 to more than 3000 in 1907.[45]

Bosanska Vila was a *Serbian* periodical. According to its editors, Serbia included the territory of Vojvodina, Banat, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Montenegro; all inhabitants of these regions were "Serbs," regardless of their confessional allegiances. Obviously, the geographical size of Greater Serbia was easily determined, but the identity of the Serb nation seemed diffuse and complex. Perhaps more interesting than the question of who was a Serb was the question who was not – or rather who was not a "true Serb." In its early years *Bosanska Vila* was influenced by the romantic glorification of the past, the rejection of modernization, and the adoration of "pure nature," and its articles exuded a reactionary longing for a purported bygone age of Serbian greatness. Everything modern was unquestionably "alien" and had to be eliminated. In the simplified image of an old, idealized Serbia and the corruption of the nation by foreign intruders, the Austrians could do nothing good. Those Serbs who collaborated with the Austrians, who lived in Austrian cities, and who compromised with the existing order were deemed "traitors." They were no longer "true Serbs." The many dichotomies frequently invoked in *Bosanska Vila* opposed the cities (Austrian) to the countryside (Serbian), modernity (Austrian) to tradition

[42] Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 84.
[43] Kruševac, *Bosanske Hercegovačke Listovi*, 307.
[44] Ibidem, 325.
[45] Đuričković, op. cit., 32; Džaja, op. cit., 99.

(Serbian), and cosmopolitism (Austrian) to nationalism (Serbian). During the early years the tone of the periodical was thus quite different from that of *Zora*, which claimed to be open-minded towards Europe.

Svetlana Boym emphasizes that collective nostalgia can become a kind of conspiracy theory, in which the past, a "common house," is invaded by villainous intruders.[46] *Bosanska Vila* perpetrated such conspiracy theories of the "common house" on all different levels. For example, they worried about foreign words polluting the Serbian language, and about many Bosnian youngsters going to Central Europe for higher education. An article, published in 1891 in *Bosanska Vila*, inveighs that "we are not against science, but we are against those buildings, where they destroy our Serbian soul and want to fill it with poison from the West. [...] An education in the spirit of the Western culture is absolutely in conflict with the spirit of the nation. Isn't it better that the already poisoned children not be reconciled with our peasant? Tell us, where is the living power of the Serbs, and who preserves it?"[47]

This anonymous author in *Bosanska Vila* worries about the peasant, or, to be more precise, the role of the peasant in a future Serbian society (of Bosnia). *Bosanska Vila* was, more so than *Zora*, a periodical that put the peasant in a cultural context. Even before the Austrian occupation, the peasant had become a key element of Serbian nationalism. This imagery of peasantry and the "noble savages" of the Balkan mountains is rooted in the liberation wars of the early nineteenth century and the fact that the liberators Karađorđe and Obrenović had both been both peasants.[48] The peasant as a prototype fits with the concept of victimhood, which is present in the epic imagery of many smaller nations. In Ottoman times, as well as in the Austrian era, the peasant suffered. This suffering became, in a literary sense, the basis for a national myth for the Serbs. However, most Serbian writers in the nineteenth century depicted the peasants too rosily: the peasant was placed in an illustrious idyll of rural happiness, in which the forests are dark and mysterious, the fields are green and beautiful, the birds are singing, and the peasants

[46] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 43.
[47] "Srpskoj bosanskoj omladini u Gracu," *Bosanska Vila* 6 Nr. 4 (1891): 64. Cited in Vervaet, *Centar i Periferija*, 157-58.
[48] Nicholas Moravchevich, "The Village Story in Serbian Literature: The Peasant in the Prose of Petar Kočić," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 21 (1977/4), 506-16: 506-7.

enjoy lives spent in peace and harmony with nature. This idealization met with a strong critique from the new generation of writers, schooled in the new *gymnasiums* and familiar with European literature from their readings in magazines like *Bosanska Vila* and, later, *Zora*. The generation of Šantić and Dučić reacted to the folklorism with modernism and symbolism. However, in their writings they did not reject folklorism nor did they try to find a substitute for it. Following Hroch's model of the "awakening" of national movements, we can see that the first group of the national vanguard was indeed made up of elitist intellectuals, coming from the economic bourgeoisie of Mostar. This is also how they were seen retrospectively by literary scholars in the region, as evinced by this quote from an obituary for Dučić: "Dučić has often been accused of snobbery and mannerism, and his poetry shows the influences of Rodenbach, Maeterlinck, Baudelaire, Verlaine, traces of Parnassian, Symbolist and Decadent elements, *all alien to Serbian tradition poetry* [my emphasis]. Dučić has shared the illusions of the Western poet-prince in the cult of beauty."[49]

A new generation, who made themselves heard after 1900, rejected not only the folklorism of the older generation but also the *l'art pour l'art* of *Zora*'s editors. In their view, both traditions did not substantially draw attention to the needs and troubles of the society, in particular those of the poor peasant population of Bosnia. This new generation was warmly welcomed by Jovan Skerlić, the patron of Serbian literature.[50] One younger author wrote about the older village poems and stories: "No tax collector nor policeman is even seen around, and the greatest possible disturbance … is probably some chimney fire or a rumor that a witch was spotted somewhere."[51] The first young Bosnian who deliberately attacked the tendency toward idyll and romance in nineteenth-century Bosnian literature was Petar Kočić (1877-1916), a poet, politician, and rebel with a prominent mustache and a wild look in his eyes. In the literary and social development of Bosnian Serbs around 1900 he was the key figure: a symbol of the transition from an early,

[49] A. J. Klačar, "Jovan Dučić: Poet of Modernism," *Books Abroad* 18 Nr. 2 (1944), 133-36: 133.
[50] Predrag Palavestra, "Kritička merila Jovana Skerlića," in: Idem (ed.), *Jovan Skerlić u srpskoj književnosti 1877-1977* (Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1980), 15-29: 21-22.
[51] Todor Kruševac, *Petar Kočić* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1951), 75-76.

elitist cultural phase to a more political stage of struggle and defiance, wherein art and other forms of culture became tools of activism. His artistic and political vision was centered on the almost mythical persona of the poor peasant.

2.3 Petar Kočić: Voice of the young Serbs

Today, the importance of Petar Kočić for the region's literature is illustrated by his being honored with an image on the Bosnian 100-KM note (since 1998), the many literature prizes that are named after him, and his canonization in books about Serbian literature as one of the nation's leading poets. His memory lives on in plays, novels, statues, and commemorative plaques.[52] We find mirrored in the person of Kočić many developments of early-twentieth-century Bosnia: he was a child from the lower classes who was schooled in *gymnasiums*; he was a Bosnian Serb who made a career in independent Serbia; he was a poet who became a politician; and eventually, he addressed national and social questions as aspects of a single, integrated vision. This made him the perfect patron saint for post–World War II Yugoslavism, although he was obviously a Serbian nationalist (of course, in the context of that time).[53]

Kočić's writing shows above all a great commitment to addressing social problems in Bosnia. He was a realist writer, and produced literature without much in the way of decorative flourish or excessive pathos. Unlike earlier writers in Bosnia, he did not depict the Bosnian peasants against a background of idyllic rural life. Kočić's peasants are serfs in a bloody and cruel world, always on the run from the punishment and torture meted out by the lords of the oppressive landowning class.

His life may have served as inspiration for his bitter writings. He was born the son of an Orthodox priest in 1877 in the region of the

[52] Stijn Vervaet, "Fashioning Legacies of Austro-Hungarian Rule in Bosnia and Hercegovina: The Canonization of Petar Kočić," in: Michel de Dobbeleer and Stijn Vervaet (eds.), (*Mis)Understanding the Balkans: Essays in Honour of Raymond Detrez* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2013), 337-47.

[53] His love for some kind of holy Serbianness is visible in the letter he wrote from Belgrade to his father (18/04/1898): Petar Kočić, *Sabrana Djela: Knjiga IV* (Banjaluka: Glas, 1986), 14-15.

Krajina, one year before the Austrians occupied Bosnia. His mother died when he was two years old. His father, mourning the death of his wife, became a monk in the monastery of Gomionica and left his children to be raised by his mother, Baba Vida. As a boy, Kočić received a religious education in his father's monastery, before he was sent to primary school in the town of Banja Luka. In 1891, he became a student of the newly founded Sarajevo *gymnasium*, where he first came in daily contact with the capital's Croats, Jews, and Muslims. At that time the Bosnian Serb struggle for autonomy in the Orthodox schools was being intensively fought, and it must have had an impact on the young student. After he was expelled from religious class at school for cursing and losing his temper, Kočić began to develop into an ambitious, nervous, and complicated rebel, always eager to defend himself against imagined or real usurpers and happy to get into fights with representatives of the authorities. Dissatisfied with the "foreign" Bosnian government, he became involved with the nationalist student association *Srpski Svijest* (Serbian Consciousness) and began organizing demonstrations against the regime.[54] This brought him some serious problems. In 1895 he was excluded from the prestigious first *gymnasium* of Sarajevo, after he had provoked a nationalist brawl in a Sarajevo *kafana* and had insulted passengers on the streets while drunk.[55] The local authorities were happy to get rid of Kočić.

These first expressions of student unrest were relatively mild compared with everything that would come after 1900, especially the terrorist wave that stretched from 1910 to the outbreak of the First World War. Only a tiny part of the student population were involved in the above-mentioned student protests. The notion that the "young generation" stood up against the old order is false, or is at least a grave distortion. The education system of the Austrians worked for a majority of Bosnian children, who passed through the merchant school into professional careers in the bureaucracy or the trade sector. However, in a

[54] Kruševac, *Kočić*, (Belgrade: 1951), 32. See, for about the student periodical *Srpska Svijest*: Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovacki Listovi*, 133. See, for source material: "Izvod iz govora držanog na drugom sastanku "Srpske Svijesti" literarne družine Srba srednjoškolaca u Sarajevu 25. Marta 1896 g.," in: Vojislav Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna: Pisma i Prilozi* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954), 255-56.
[55] Todor Kruševac, *Petar Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa* (Sarajevo: Muzej Književnost Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967), 20-21; Kruševac, *Kočić* (Belgrade: 1951), 33-34.

sensitive and nervous society such as Bosnia under Austrian rule, these outbreaks of student unrest were still highly disturbing. The fragile structure of Kállay's Bosnia seemed ill-prepared for growing dissent and frustration among the younger generation. In the eyes of the Austrians, Petar Kočić was the rotten apple in the barrel.

He finished his *gymnasium* studies in Belgrade, in independent Serbia. According to hagiographic stories, he kissed the Serbian soil as soon as he crossed the border.[56] This brings us to an interesting aspect of Kočić's life and works: he was a nationalist, but an unusual one. His fierce Serbian patriotism was a mixture of literary-romantic nationalism, intense hatred for Austria, Greater Serbian ideology, some elements drawn from mystic Orthodoxy and the epic narrative tradition, and considerable frustration about social inequality and the unsolved agrarian question in the Bosnian countryside. His conflicted identity is best illustrated by his unhappiness when he lived in Belgrade. As an adolescent in the Serbian capital, he experienced hunger, imprisonment, social alienation, and loneliness – with little to offset these woes. Later, he wrote: "Life in Banja Luka was hard and miserable, in Sarajevo it was even worse, but in Belgrade the peak of my suffering was reached."[57] In 1899 he was the first Kočić ever to finish secondary school. Subsequently, he decided to take up Slavic studies in Vienna.

In Vienna he met several Serbian poets and writers, who inspired him to write short stories – a genre that suited him best. The first stories he sent home, satirical tales about sly Bosnian peasants tricking evil-minded, corrupt, fat Austrian usurpers, were published in *Bosanska Vila*.[58] In the period between his return to the Balkans in 1905 and his early death in 1916, he became the leading writer of the Bosnian Serbs, and indeed of all *young* Serbs.

A key work in Kočić's oeuvre is the story "Jazavac pred Sudom" ("The Badger in Court," 1904), later adapted into a play.[59] Because all Kočić's stories revolve around the rural life of Bosnia, this is a typical

[56] Vitomir Vuletić, *Petar Kočić* (Belgrade: Rad, 1963), 7.
[57] Todor Kruševac, *Petar Kočić* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1951), 37.
[58] Kočić, *Sabrana Djela. IV*, 112.
[59] Ibidem, 109-11. When this play was staged at the first Belgrade *gymnasium* in 1905 it inspired the Serbian students to demonstrate against the Austrian occupation of Bosnia. The play turned into a political protest. Arhiv - Srbije - *Spomenica o štogodisnjici prve muske gimnazije u Beogradu 1839-1939* (Belgrade 1939) 269.

piece. The story goes like this: A Bosnian peasant called David Štrbac has caught the badger that ruined his cornfield. With the animal in the sack, he goes to court to settle things according to the Austrian laws. There, in front of the foreign officials who are unable to speak proper Serbo-Croatian, Štrbac mocks the complexity and corruption of the Austrian legal system, the bureaucracy of the occupation, and the oppressive and corrupt regime ruling Bosnia. Štrbac's rebelliousness is a mixture of pride in poverty, humor, sadness, patriotic zeal, satire, self-irony, and idealism. His tone struck a nerve with a new generation of *gymnasium* students, who were not the children of the narrow bourgeois elite of Mostar or Sarajevo, as Šantić or Ćorović and the *Zora* group had been, but were rather the children of free peasants, or *kmets*.

After he had made his career as a poet and rebellious writer, Kočić became politically active. His rebelliousness, amply displayed as a politician in parliament, was praised as a way of life by the younger generation. The earlier generation of Bosnian Serbs had perhaps been against the Austrian regime, but they stayed within a framework of collaboration, negotiation, and peaceful coexistence. Especially after the fight about Serbian Orthodox education was settled in 1905, many elite Bosnian Serb merchants had grown content with the new rulers. Ottomans and Austrians they considered to be alike. For Kočić, this attitude of the Serbian mercantile elite was a major source of frustration. He blamed the older generation for being passive, hypocritical, and opportunistic, and he wanted to stand up for the tenant peasants who were still being exploited in the feudal Bosnian countryside. This contrast stood out when he presented his story in Vienna to a Serbian student audience of the association *Zora*. After he read his story about the badger in court, he was criticized by some students for provoking the Austrian authorities by exaggerating the troubles of Bosnian peasants. There he realized that the source of his enemies was both in the "foreign rule" of Bosnia and in the (mercantile) upper class of Bosnian Serbs.[60]

Kočić was one of the parliamentarians in the Bosnian *Sabor* that opened its doors in 1910, where he supported the peasants he had depicted realistically in his prose. "The peasant is the nation," he wrote, "and as long as the peasant is a slave, the nation just cannot be free."[61]

[60] Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne I*, 39.
[61] Kočić, cited in Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne I*, 38.

Serbian nationalists saw in Kočić the perfect propagandist for a Serbian Bosnia, so he was strongly supported by the intellectual and political circles in Belgrade, including the powerful entourage of Jovan Skerlić, professor of literature. In 1906 he founded the newspaper *Otadžbina* (Fatherland) in Banja Luka: a proud platform for Bosnian Serb peasants, rebels, and poets. The newspaper was somehow connected to the personality of Kočić, because the style was eloquently aggressive and its nationalism was bold.[62] While the political and intellectual leaders of Belgrade saw a propagandist in Kočić, Bosnian Serb youth regarded him to be the hero of their generation. He was a non-bourgeois intellectual, both fighting and writing against social inequality. He was a modern hero.

There are three good reasons to consider Petar Kočić the "first" Young Bosnian. He was a relatively poor Bosnian student from the periphery, and his successful career in Belgrade, Vienna, and elsewhere provided a standard for others to live up to. Second, he raised his voice against the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the spheres of literature, politics, and journalism. This three-pronged method of challenging the ruling powers inspired his generation. Third, the reigning concept of his main ideology was the glorification of a realist, rebellious peasantry. This particular ideology passed into the writings of Gaćinović – a Bosnian-Serb from Mostar who was born after the Berlin Congress and who became a pivotal figure in the anti-Austrian movement.

2.4 The Second Mostar Circle

The first generation of Mostar proudly Bosnian-Serb *gymnasiasts* may be seen as the "first" Mostar circle, connecting the elites of the Bosnian periphery to important European cultural centers in both the Francophone and German-speaking worlds, as well as in the Balkans (in particular Belgrade, in independent Serbia).[63] Some of its poets, such as

[62] Kruševac, *Kočić*, 200-209.

[63] Granovetter identified the paradox that a network with numerous weaker ties (such as international contacts which have no very intensive interaction) are stronger than a network with many stronger ties (such as neighbors, kin, people we meet on our daily routines). The ideas of Granovetter are summarized by White: "Close-knitness of a network is highly correlated with involuteness." White, *Identity and Control*, 75. See:

Aleksa Šantić, continued to be of crucial importance for Bosnian Serbian literature into the twentieth century, but after 1890 a new generation came to the fore, who positioned their work between arts and politics. In two respects, Petar Kočić may be seen as the vital link in a developing network of politically active intellectuals. First, he deliberately linked writing poetry and prose to politics (first as a writer, later as a politician). Second, he strengthened the ties between Bosnian literary circles and Belgrade – the alleged 'valhalla' of Bosnian Serb nationalists.

The "second" circle took shape in Mostar around 1900 and was peopled by a generation who were born and raised after 1878. As with the first Mostar circle, the core was a trio of men: Vladimir Gaćinović, Dimitrije Mitrinović, and Bogdan Žerajić.[64] They dictated a new subculture for Bosnian Serb youth through both the existing infrastructure (for example, *Bosanska Vila*) and new periodicals, forums, and similar initiatives.

The Mostar Secret School Societies

Vladimir Gaćinović was one of five children of an Orthodox priest living in a small village in the environs of Grude in the Hercegovinan mountains.[65] Priests often played an important role in the education of illiterate Bosnians, as had been the case for Petar Kočić and his father. Gaćinović *père* sent his sons to a school in the nearby village of Gornji Grude and, later, to the *gymnasium* of Mostar. The illiterate environment in which Vladimir Gaćinović was raised is illustrated by the anecdote that he was the second boy in the history of Grude to be educated in a high school.[66] In 1901, when he enrolled in the first class of the *gymnasium*, the conflicts over Orthodox schooling had not yet been solved. At the *gymnasium*, the atmosphere was tense and the school authorities had been excluding many students from classes. Bosnian Muslims were, just like the Bosnian Serbs, advocating religious education, but, in addition, they

Mark Granovetter, "A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983) 201-33.

[64] Of course it was not only these three; there were many other important figures in the Mostar *gymnasium*, including: Spiro Šoldo, Pero Slijepčević, Drago Perović, Vasilj Popović, etc. However, in the light of the events that happened later, I chose these three figures as protagonists in the Mostar cultural milieu.

[65] Drago Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović* (Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1961), 27-28.

[66] Ibidem, 29.

also petitioned and stood up against many other grievances they experienced under Austrian rule.[67] In 1898 the "Muslim-Serb" Osman Đikić was expelled from the Mostar *gymnasium*, and the authorities kept a close eye on other students from all confessional backgrounds. The students who stayed sympathized with those who had been thrown out.

The interest in literature and poetry was great among the students of Mostar. Pero Slijepčević, a schoolmate of Gaćinović, reported the founding of the literary forum *Matica* (Mainstream) in 1904.[68] At the first meeting of *Matica*, it was Vladimir Gaćinović who gave a lecture about the short stories of his idol Petar Kočić. Although it was officially forbidden to gather in groups discussing poetry and literature (or politics!), *Matica* was quite successful – maybe *because* it was a secret society. Each week students met in private apartments to read stories and papers, and to contemplate poetry and the epic tradition.[69] One of the other students in Mostar, a talented young man named Dimitrije Mitrinović, coordinated the reading sessions in a small reading room where this clique of literary students could read modern German, French, and Serbian literature.[70] The group's members stimulated one another in writing, translating, and publishing. As a result, Gaćinović began writing literary criticism and poems for various Serbian periodicals in Bosnia. In these articles he expressed, in or between the lines, a strong adoration for Kočić. Obviously he imitated Kočić's sarcastic observations of a degraded society, in which the peasant was nothing but a defenseless victim of evil Austrian colonizers. Additionally, his writings exuded the youthful bravado of an adolescent poet, wanting to bring down the old, conservative order. For example, his first article in the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Srpska Riječ* (Serbian Word) contained the following characteristic passage: "Witnessing the transitional stage of our dumbfounded society, emphasizing a surge of modern ideas, discerning a wide-ranging evolution of our life, sensing the depatriarchalization of the common man, we can see that our short story is blinkered and stunted, that not even amidst so many publications we do have the portrayal of social

[67] Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 181-90.
[68] Ljubibratić, *Gaćinović*, 35.
[69] Drago Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski Atentat* (Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1964), 49.
[70] Predrag Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija Dimitrija Mitrinovića* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2003), 11-12.

misery and destitution, of the complicated struggle of social elements and groups, of the wretched husbandman squealing and crying amidst his misery and poverty."[71]

Kočić's short stories were supposedly the exceptions to the rule. As an example Gaćinović mentions Kočić's story "Bloody Krajina" because of a beautiful description of the main character: "This is a peasant, practical, full of life, but charged with the characteristics of a suppressed slave, who has been despised, and treated as a morally degraded person."[72]

The critical essays of Gaćinović demonstrate an interesting mix of political and literary idealism. His radical nationalism and modernist mode of literary criticism was combined with social idealism in a very Kočić-ian way. In addition to *Matica* and the students' reading room (*Mala Biblioteka*), a political forum was founded by the Mostar circle. This forum, called *Sloboda* (Freedom), was set up by an older Mostar student named Bogdan Žerajić – a close friend of Gaćinović. The people behind this forum organized debates on international politics, economy, and Serbian or South-Slavic integration.[73] The networks of *Matica*, the students' reading room, and *Sloboda* overlapped, and individuals such as Gaćinović and Žerajić were involved in all initiatives.[74] The literary and political goals of the forums therefore merged into a single aim: in their view, literature could not flourish without freedom, while freedom could not be achieved without literature. This is illustrated by some lines in a letter of Gaćinović to a friend, in which he calls himself both a "Garibaldist" and a "Kočić-ist" in one sentence: a fighter and a writer.[75]

---

[71] Vladimir Gaćinović, "Pripovjetke Petra Kočića," in: Idem, *Ogledi i Pisma* (Sarajevo; Svjetlost, 1956) 23-27:23.

[72] Vladimir Gaćinović, "R.T.P. Nevesinjski*: Gorštakinje* i *Iz zemlje plača*," in: Idem, *Ogledi i Pisma*, 32-37: 33.

[73] Palavestra, *Dogma*, 14.

[74] *Matica*: Drago Perović, Vasilj Popović, Pero Slijepčević, Jovan Stanković, Bogdan Žerajić, Vladimir Gaćinović, Dimitrije Mitrinović, and others. *Sloboda*: Vladimir Gaćinović, Pero Slijepčević, Bogdan Žerajić, Dimitrije Mitrinović, Spiro Šoldo, Ljubo Mijatović, and others. See: Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 13-14; Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 225.

[75] Letter Vladimir Gaćinović to Milan Karanović, June 1908, cited in: Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 50. Connections to the Garibaldini went back to the 1875 Bosnian uprisings, as many Italian volunteers fought alongside the Bosnian peasant gangs: Eric R. Terzuolo, "Garibaldini in the Balkans, 1875-1876," *The International History Review* 4 Nr. 1 (1982), 111-26. The international shadow of Garibaldi is discussed in:

When, in 1907, his older Mostar schoolmates, including Žerajić and Mitrinović, had left Mostar to study in Zagreb or Vienna, Gaćinović decided to leave the *gymnasium* early to study at the Theological Faculty in Reljevo. He would become a priest, just like his father. This proved to be a bad choice. His almost violent energy made him unqualified for a life devoted to God and the church. Like Kočić, he went to Belgrade to obtain a scholarship to study in Vienna, which was not forthcoming because he had not finished high school. He returned to Mostar and started working as a journalist for the Bosnian Serb nationalist newspaper *Narod* (People) – a paper that was at that time closely watched by the Austrian authorities for alleged Greater Serbian propaganda.[76]

In the meantime the political situation in the Balkans, and in Europe, had gone through some important changes. In 1905 a revolution in the Russian Empire was suppressed by tsarist forces, and in 1908 Bosnia was annexed by Austria, which provoked an international crisis among the Great Powers. In this international atmosphere Gaćinović decided to travel east in order to volunteer in Serbia for a coming war, which, in the end, did not come about (not until 1912). Instead, he enrolled in the first *gymnasium* of Belgrade. This was the only *gymnasium* in Serbia that offered courses in Ancient Greek (obligatory in the Bosnian *gymnasium*) instead of French (which was not taught in the Mostar *gymnasium*).[77] In 1910 he was finally certified to study at the University of Belgrade. There he attended lectures of Jovan Skerlić, the charismatic professor of literature. This leading figure in the Serbian intellectual milieu would become the Maecenas of the Bosnian Serb youth, and more specifically of Gaćinović.[78] Already as a *gymnasium* student Gaćinović had participated in a literary contest at Belgrade University. Jury member Skerlić was impressed by the writing skills of

Lucy Riall, "Charisma and the cult of the hero in Risorgimento Italy" in: Viviam Ibrahim and Margit Wunsch (eds.), *Political Leadership, Nations and Charisma* (London: Routlegde, 2012), 65-79.

[76] HHStA 75 – P.A. XIX 75 – 3 Serbische Agitation in Bosnien - AdZ/ 88 / Pr. B.H ex 1908 Abschrift.

[77] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 54.

[78] Vladimir Dedijer, "Skerlić i revolucionarni omladinski pokret," in: Predrag Palavestra (ed.), *Jovan Skerlić u srpskoj Književnosti 1877-1977* (Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1980), 173-82.

the Mostar student and apparently told him: "This is so good, it can be printed directly. I hope you will come to study literature in my class."[79]

It was this Skerlić who gave the Bosnian youth the aura of pioneers, in a cultural and national sense. The professor's admiration for the young and angry Bosnian Serb peripheral activist-writers fed their self-confidence. Earlier, Skerlić had acknowledged the talent of Bosnian Serb student Petar Kočić, to whom he supposedly said: "Give up politics, it's something anyone can do, and do literature instead, at which you are second to none in our country."[80] In Belgrade Skerlić spoke highly of Gaćinović's talent and portrayed Dimitrije Mitrinović, another Mostar student, as "one of the leading ideologues and best writers of our young generation."[81]

Governmental Financial Support

The story of the life and works of Dimitrije Mitrinović cannot be summarized, as with so many other young Bosnians, as a tale of "a peasant boy from the countryside meeting a new world in Europe." Kočić and Gaćinović had been sons of lower-ranking village priests. In Mitrinović's case, both his parents were educated people. His father was a farmer running an experimental farm, but he was also an enthusiast for European literature.[82] A proof of the intellectual milieu Mitrinović came from is the book collection of his parents, which included German and French philosophy, Hungarian prose, and studies of the Sanskrit Rig-Veda hymns by the German orientalist Paul Deussen.[83] Mitrinović's mother came from the Hungarian province of Vojvodina, and was educated as a primary school teacher. In the rural countryside of Hercegovina, the work of his parents may be compared with some forms of missionary work, as his mother also educated the villagers in hygiene

[79] Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 266.
[80] Jovan Skerlić to Petar Kočić, 16 August 1909, published in vol. II of Petar Kočić's Collected Works (Belgrade 1961), 354, cited in: Predrag Palavestra, "Young Bosnia: Literary Action" *Balkanica* 41 (2010), 155-184: 158-9.
[81] Jovan Skerlić, "Novi omladinski listovi i novi naraštaj," *Srpski književni glasnik* XXX (1913), No. 3, 212–224, cited in: Palavestra, "Young Bosnia," 163.
[82] H.C. Rutherford (ed.), *Certainly, Future: Selected Writings of Dimitrije Mitrinović* (New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1987), 6.
[83] Palavestra, *Dogma*, 7.

and how to keep a household.[84] Mitrinović finished primary school in the village and went to the Mostar *gymnasium* in 1899-1900, meeting likeminded students including Vladimir Gaćinović. A memoir of a Bosnian contemporary tells that, among fellow students, the two members of this illustrious duo were called "Vlada Mistika" and "Mita Dinamika," referring to the mysterious, vague talks of the former and the great organizational energy of the latter.[85] Mitrinović, indeed, was the leading force behind the Mostar students' reading room (*Mala Biblioteka*), and the literary forum *Matica*. Already in high school he started writing poems and literary criticism, some of which were published in Bosnian periodicals.[86] In contrast to Vladimir Gaćinović, who wrote mostly about the local Bosnian poets such as Šantić and Dučić, Mitrinović also discussed international belles-lettres. For example, in *Matica* he presented works of the Cuban-French poet José-Marie de Heredia, whose poetry was influenced by symbolism and Parnassianism, and who died in 1905.[87] Mitrinović's more global orientation was also reflected in his decision to take non-obligatory classes in French and Italian.

There were additional differences among the pioneers of the second Mostar circle. Whereas Gaćinović and Žerajić identified with radical and sometimes even violent Serbian nationalism, Mitrinović daydreamed of some vague but more peaceful utopian idea of South Slavic unity and brotherhood.[88] He could concentrate more on these ideas when, after he finished at the *gymnasium* in 1907, he left for the University of Zagreb to study philosophy. Interestingly, just before the academic year started, he stayed for some time in Belgrade, where he met with various poets and writers, as well as literary critics and even politicians.[89] Palavestra describes how this short "Serbian" period influenced his worldview. Visions of a Greater Serbia, if not the

[84] Ibidem.
[85] Drago Ljubibratić, *Gaćinović*, 103-104.
[86] Among them *Bosanska Vila*, *Brankovo Kolo* and *Nova Iskra*.
[87] Palavestra, *Dogma*, 14-15.
[88] Ibidem, 15-16.
[89] Sidney Fay stresses in his books that when Bosnian youth "spend some months in Belgrade," it is likely some radicalization takes place. Fay, *The Origins, Part II*, 85, 95 (footnote), 138.

appearance of a South Slavic union, mixed with his own not-yet-fully-developed utopianism.[90]

Both the Bosnian and Serbian government supported Mitrinović financially with a stipend, since he had proven his talent by publishing erudite and controversial articles in respected journals before turning 20.[91] He was thus a financially comfortable student who could dress like a dandy, with a bowler hat and a walking stick. With this appearance he dissociated himself from the unwashed, dirty rabble of impoverished students. Perhaps also because of the size of his wallet, Mitrinović was much appreciated in the student circles of Zagreb. He often took his friends out for sumptuous dinners, where they could fill their rumbling stomachs. After dessert was served, it was always Mitrinović who picked up the check.[92]

Zagreb was culturally more developed than Sarajevo or Mostar. For Bosnian students, Zagreb was the first station *en route* to Vienna and Prague, and to the most important intellectual circles of Central Europe. In Zagreb Mitrinović came under the influence of the Croatian Modernists, a group of writers opposing ethnological and traditional literature. They strived for a poetry characterized by a personal, subjective, modernist expression. These Croatian Modernists attacked the calm, literary Croatian order like savages on the warpath. "We want freedom," the poet Dežman wrote in a pamphlet. "We want to live in the present, and we want to listen to the spirit of the age and to build on our own, not to merely stand guard at the gates of ancient castles."[93] Another poet, Anton Gustav Matoš, was a special case. He was an artist, critic, and musician with an explosive temperament, wandering in and out of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Paris. "His arrival in our region," said a contemporary, "had the impact of an unexpectedly exploded grenade. He was made to conquer, fight, and quarrel, to oppose, to wake up, to take

[90] Dragomir Gajević, *Jugoslovenstvo između stvarnost i iluzija. Ideja jugoslovenstva u književnosti početkom XX vijeka* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1985), 109-133; Palavestra, *Dogma*, 18-19.
[91] Palavestra, *Dogma*, 32-34. Andrew Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative: An Exploration of the Life and Ideas of Dimitrije Mitrinović* (New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1984), 11.
[92] Džaja, op. cit., 178.
[93] Milan Marjanović, *Hrvatska Moderna I* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnost, 1951), 91-94.

down, to break...” The always sophisticated Ivo Andrić analyzed his colleague Matoš: “He loves every powerful emotional expression: love, opposition, bitterness, dissatisfaction, enthusiasm [...] from great to grotesque...”[94]

In 1907, when Mitrinović began studying in Zagreb, he became an editor of *Bosanska Vila*, where he had already published several poems, literary reviews, and articles. Living in Zagreb, he introduced Croatian literature to the Bosnian Serb periodical.

Participating in the Cultural Avant-Garde

The Serbian scholar Predrag Palavestra characterized the first phase of young Bosnian action as a phase of “literary action.”[95] In Serbia in the late nineteenth century, there was a growing interest in literary criticism that debated the social meanings of literature. Already the *Omladina* (United Serbian Youth) from Vojvodina had written about the importance of writing for social developments in the region. They advocated realism, and, in doing so, they preferred the Russian realism of Turgenev and perhaps later Chernyshevsky to the socially engaged literature of Zola or Maupassant.[96] Their praise of realism and activism, and their rejection of romanticism, was echoed in Bosnian periodicals after 1900. Hence, Serbian espousal of nation-building and its national revival reached Bosnia through the periodicals.

When Gaćinović and Mitrinović began publishing their boldly written literary criticism in *Bosanska Vila*, the previously conservative periodical went through a rapid transformation. They attacked all the established poets of Bosnia, including Šantić, Ćorović, and even Kočić. They deemed *Bosanska Vila*’s anti-modern rhetoric and bourgeois fear

[94] Ivo Andrić, “A. G. Matoš,” *Vihor* 1 (1914) nr 5, 89-91.
[95] The argument of this sub-chapter draws heavily on the works of Predrag Palavestra, who wrote several studies about the literary activism of young Bosnians. They are: *Književnost Mlade Bosne* I & II (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965); “Young Bosnia: Literary Action” *Balcanica* 41 (2010) 155-84. The works of Palavestra have been used as a main source for some books about literary action, such as: Dragomir Gajević, *Jugoslovenstvo između stvarnost i iluzija: Ideja jugoslovenstva u književnosti početkom XX vijeka*. (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1985); Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter. Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf* (Munich: L. Jevtić, 1976).
[96] E.D. Goy, “The Attitude of the Serbs to Turgenev’s Works in the 19th Century,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 36 (1957) 123-149: 149.

of progress, urbanism, and cosmopolitism as "ethnologist" and "traditionalist" provincialism, blocking the development of Bosnia.

Of the poetry of Aleksa Šantić, the respected literary pioneer of Mostar and editor of *Zora*, Mitrinović wrote: "Many of his poems do not possess real value, some do not possess any value at all […] Šantić is not an artist in the narrow sense of the word […] he is not a master, nor is he purely aware of his poetic creation."[97] And about Svetozar Ćorović, the other *Zora* editor: "His poems lack self-criticism, taste and keen observation: through writing, he has built himself up, found his style and his way."[98] Nevertheless, the young Mitrinović's final judgment about the older Ćorović was milder: "He has not attained literary finesse yet, but he has certainly accomplished all that is required of a good narrative writer and largely deserves the favor he enjoys among critics and the outside public." Besides focusing on individual artists, Mitrinović also addressed the backwardness of all the literature from the region: "A good part of the contemporary and a vast part of the earlier short story have little to do with art! A vast majority of our story writers are not artists, but ethnographers of an odd sort, collectors of folk traditions, and the exact portrayal of what is specific, local, unessential is the best they can do. […] Enumerating and quoting examples of this misfortune of ours is of no use, nor is it a pleasant thing to do. Is there any person of taste and culture who could say that most of our short stories have literary value and that this disaster is not a disaster at all, but rather our pride and joy? To add to the misery, the same goes for most of our poetry as well. It is not ethnographic, that is true, but then again, it is too unfree and clichéd; it lacks soul and freedom, and has too many poor verses and a diluted objectivity."[99]

It is a common development in networks and movements: the students become teachers, the sons become fathers. Mitrinović "became" himself by criticizing the elderly.

Putting Words into Action

The least literary figure of the second Mostar circle was Bogdan Žerajić, one of ten children of a free, but poor peasant father in Hercegovina.

[97] Cited in: Palavestra, "Young Bosnia," 159-60.
[98] Ibidem, 159.
[99] Cited in: Palavestra, "Young Bosnia," 164.

Because he personally had experienced the problems of the Bosnian countryside, he was mainly focused on the agrarian question and wanted to overthrow the old feudal system. Supported by stipends from both the town of Nevesinje and the Bosnian government, he went to school. In the circles of the Mostar students, he founded a forum for political debate (*Sloboda*) and particularly paid attention to dealing with the question of the impoverished peasants, suffering under the rule of the landlords. In retrospect, his schoolmate Vladimir Gaćinović described Žerajić as "flexible" but also "primitive." [100]

In 1907, after he had graduated from the Mostar *gymnasium*, he joined his schoolmate Dimitrije Mitrinović in studying at the University of Zagreb, where he enrolled as a first-year student of law. His studies in Zagreb floundered, so, like Kočić, Gaćinović, Mitrinović, and many other Bosnian Serbs, he went to Serbia. He spent some time in the house of a Russian-educated uncle, where he learned about Russian revolutionary writers, such as Peter Kropotkin, the anarchist-prince who had escaped the notorious Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg. For a while he worked as a teacher in Central Serbia.[101] In 1908 during the annexation crisis he volunteered for the Serbian irregular troops, those rebel-commandos of some sort who have become famous under the name of *komitet*. Žerajić was accepted as a volunteer and stayed for one year in a camp for military training. There he apparently said to an officer: "We must liberate ourselves, or die."[102] The war held off, so Bogdan Žerajić returned to Zagreb. For one year he resumed his law studies, but once again, he found other things to do. At that time the University of Zagreb was the theater of student protest and political activism, and he participated in these actions with the utmost ardor. In 1910, the content of his letters home became more and more bitter. One letter to Gaćinović, written in 1910, went like this:

> "I suffer mentally, I have terrible feelings, and no power to express them to anyone, but you. I have become skeptical, and I do not believe in nothing anymore, I only believe there is a "painter" behind it all, and I, I am one of the "painted." […] I understand the ordeals of the

[100] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 59.
[101] Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (London: McGibbon & Gee, 1967), 237.
[102] Ibidem.

> situation I am in. Our living situation is miserable. The individual spirit is chained by the shackles of the general will. All that is great, light, just and true, is muted. Added to this is personal suffering, physical and mentally. This, my friend, is the mood I am in."[103]

In the same letter he told Gaćinović in some hidden terms about the idea of assassinating an Austrian official. The depressive nature of Žerajić and the pathos of his longing to take some great action are best illustrated in a reminiscence by Gaćinović about a goodbye in 1910:

> "One afternoon he came to our group. A great event was expected in a few days. He, serious and full of tears, said that he was going home because of personal affairs. In silence, which spoke for itself, we departed. In the evening I accompanied him to the station. He grabbed me in his arms, as if he were seeing me for the last time. He was silent, and when the bell rang for the departure of the train, he told me his last words, the message to all young ones and to all his friends: "Youth must prepare for sacrifices. Tell them." He departed, quiet, noble and unobserved. And with deeds he confirmed his words, his faith."[104]

Žerajić had decided to assassinate the Austro-Hungarian Emperor during an official visit to Ilidže, near Sarajevo. An encoded, unfinished, and unsent letter shows that he was very close to his royal target, when, full of doubt and riveted to the spot, he did not dare shoot: "When I arrived I thought I could shout as Caesar did, but his words mean V. V. V. Sum" by which he meant that he came, he saw and he was conquered. The old, grey, father-like Emperor, whose face he knew from postage stamps and pictures in daily newspapers, probably had impressed the labile student. In the same fuzzy note, he wrote: "Oh my sorrow, my sorrow passing through Sarajevo… How Sarajevo looked, as if it were damned. Everybody was bowing, everybody went to bow. And I spoke with pain: This is blasphemy against history … as you would say…"[105]

---

[103] Letter Bogdan Žerajić to Vladimir Gaćinović 12/01/1910 in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna. Pisma i prilozi*, 43.
[104] Vladimir Gaćinović, *Ogledi i pisma*, 69, cited in: Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 239.
[105] Vojislav Bogićević, "Atentat Bogdana Zerajica" *Godišnjak istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* (1954), 87-102, cited in: Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 241.

Žerajić did not change his resolve after his failure to attempt the assassination. One week later, on June 15, he stood on the Imperial Bridge (*Carevi most*) in Sarajevo, awaiting the governor, Varešanin, with a loaded gun. The hated Austrian governor left the building of the Bosnian Sabor (parliament) and went home in his coach. When Žerajić saw the vehicle he fired five bullets, causing the horses to panic and bolt. In the coach, one bullet missed Varešanin's head just by one millimeter.[106] Policemen ran up to the assassin, trying to arrest him, but Žerajić, thinking he had hit the target, put the gun in his mouth and fired.

The *Neue Freie Presse* was correct in guessing that Žerajić originally intended to hit another target: "Das Attentat auf den Landeschef wurde elf Tage nach der Rückkehr des Kaisers von der Reise nach Bosnien und der Hercegovina begangen. Schon dieses Datum nötigt zur Vermutung, dass die Urheber des Verbrechens nur durch besondere Vorsicht daran gehindert worden sind, noch viel ernstere Pläne auszuführen." [107] The target himself, Varešanin, also came to this conclusion: "Das Attentat war nicht gegen meine Person gerichtet, sondern war eine anarchistische Demonstration, die sicherlich während des Kaiserbesuches schon hätte ausgeführt werden sollen."[108]

That same day the police started searching for accomplices. In the Sarajevo room where Žerajić had stayed, they found the letters quoted above and details about his friends and family. Žerajić had been in contact with some Bosnian Serb members of parliament and with soldiers from Serbia proper. On his body a picture was found, depicting a revolutionary. The picture was taken from a book about the French Revolution by Kropotkin. Shortly thereafter the police arrested Žerajić's friend Mitrinović and detained him for a few days to interrogate him. However, they could find no evidence that Mitrinović was involved in the assassination attempt and let him go. In these days the wave of anarchist attacks swept the whole of Europe. In Paris there had been bloody attacks by the anarchists Ravachol, Emile Henry, and Auguste Vaillant, and in the atmosphere of fear and paranoia that ensued there

[106] HHStA –MdÄ Zeitungsarchiv 64-4 Varešanin – Interview with Varešanin in *Neue Freie Presse*, 15/06/1910.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] Ibidem.

were severe retaliations by the state.[109] Because nationalist terrorism was at that time had not yet emerged in Bosnia (and also because of the Kropotkin-batch), Žerajić was seen as "an anarchist." The conspiracy behind this attack was never really uncovered. It is plausible that Žerajić, although connected with many young Bosnian students and his fellow classmates from Bosnia, had acted alone.

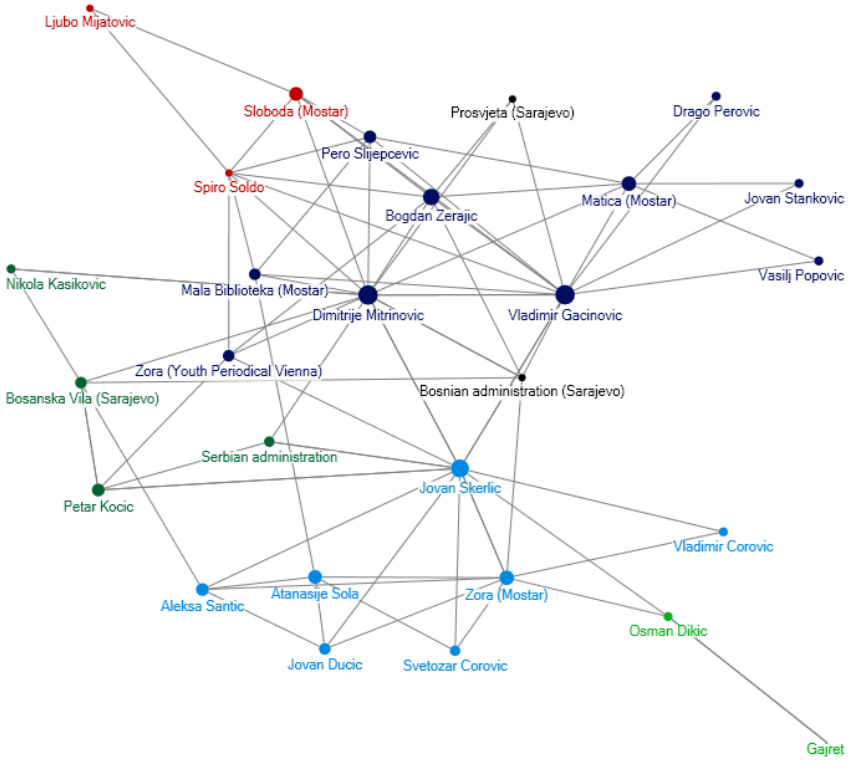
At the moment of the assassination Vladimir Gaćinović was in Belgrade studying literature. He was shocked to hear of the death of Žerajić. In writing he found a way to deal with his grief. He wrote three articles about the death of Žerajić. The first was a simple obituary for a lost friend, but in the second and third article he chose the style of a political pamphlet. In his view, the assassination attempt by Žerajić was a prime example of new paths of activism in the Bosnian context. He deemed Žerajić a "modern hero" who had sacrificed his life "fighting tyranny." With these articles Gaćinović laid the foundations for a Žerajić-cult which went on to have a tremendous impact on the mind, soul, and program of the youth movement of Bosnian Serbs in the years before the outbreak of the First World War. Vladimir Gaćinović continued his studies in 1911 in Lausanne, Switzerland. There he came under influence of the thoughts and deeds of Russian radicals from all different backgrounds, who were sought by the tsarist police and who had found refuge in the neutral state of Switzerland. In Switzerland Gaćinović became the broker of a network of radical, pan-Slavic European activists, who fought both with pen and gun.

2.5 Connections

In his 2004 study, Rogers Brubaker criticized this notion of "groups," or, as he calls it, "groupism."[110] Even in the modernist school, where scholars use the paradigms of "invention," "creation," and "construction," the concept of groups was, as Brubaker concludes, never

[109] John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009); Gregory Shaya, "How to Make an Anarchist-Terrorist: An Essay on the Political Imaginary in Fin-de-Siècle France," *Journal of Social History* 44 (2010/2), 521-43.
[110] Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 7-28.

seriously questioned. In order to go beyond the "groupism" I made a simple network visualization with SNA-software to show the interrelatedness of the individual Bosnian Serb intellectual activist in the formative years of the movement.[111] It shows a temporary network. The different circles of the younger and the older generations of Bosnian-Serb writers coexisted in time – their sense of belonging to a different generation was based on a synchronic, and not a diachronic notion of time.



Of course this visualization is a simplification of the much more complicated network I could make of the Mostar intellectual and mercantile elite. But in order to keep it understandable (and presentable),

[111] Social Network Analysis, the program used is Excel/Node XL.

I only included persons discussed in the text of this part. For a more detailed overview other persons should have been added, for example from Sarajevo, Travnik, Zagreb and elsewhere. Therefore, this visualization is only complementing and illustrating my written interpretation of the roadmap of Bosnian-Serb pioneers.

The SNA-program identified four clusters. They are indicated by colors. The smallest cluster (in light green) forms the connection with the pro-Serb Bosnian Muslims (around the figure of Osman Đikić). He was the connection to the Muslim cultural center Gajret, where a grower number of members identified themselves as 'Muslim Serbs'.[112]

The other cluster (in dark green) can be identified as the social space of the Bosnian-Serbs, linking Belgrade to Sarajevo and Banja Luka through magazines like *Bosanska Vila* and its editor Nikola Kašiković. It is important to note that the Serbian ministry of education ('Serbian administration' in the graph) now and then financed talented students in Bosnia.[113] This policy made it possible for, for example, Petar Kočić to develop as a writer, and as an activist. Banned from the Sarajevo gymnasium, he went to continue his education in Belgrade. The yearbooks of Belgrade gymnasium show that it was not very common to have Bosnian students in class. In 1896/97 there were 267 students from Belgrade and 221 from Serbia, followed by 43 from Austria-Hungary, 24 from Montenegro, 18 from Macedonia (which was still under Ottoman rule) and then, below in the list, 11 from Bosnia and Hercegovina.[114] Jovan Skerlić, the spider in the web of Belgrade intellectuals, took the young, talented writer under his wings. Still, the 'Serbian connection' often went not that much through Sarajevo and Belgrade, as well via the route of Hungarian Vojvodina and its Serbian centers of Novi Sad and Sombor. Kašiković is in this case a good example, because he had

[112] Two accurate studies about the historical identities of the Bosnian Muslims are: Mark Pinson and Roy P. Mottahedeh, *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994); Francine Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

[113] The reality of the stipends from Serbia proper will never be revealed, since the subject was politicized in the Friedjung process of 1909, where dozens of Serb politicians in Croatia were suspected for being paid from Belgrade. The suspects were nevertheless found not guilty.

[114] Zoran Avramovic (ed.), *Prva Beogradska Gimnazija Moša Pijada 1839-1989* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1989), 124-125.

enjoyed his education in Sombor.[115] Many teachers for Bosnian-Serb primary and secondary schools were recruited from Vojvodina. The Hungarian province functioned therefore as a Serbian crossroad, a center, from which developments in the region were started. For example, decades before, many members of the Vojvodina *Ujedinjena Srpska Omladina* (United Serbian Youth), who were active already long before the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, would become leading figures in the network of Serbian intellectuals in the region.[116] Then, *Bosanska Vila* reached only a small segment of the Bosnian-Serb community due to illiteracy, but still, the circulation grew from a little less than 1000 in 1885 to more than 3000 in 1907.[117] In his fight for expressing identity, Kašiković's main competitor was obviously the Austrian joint ministry of finance, but, to a lesser degree, in a paradoxical way, also the Serbian propagandists in Serbia proper. He took pains to get funding from Belgrade and Vojvodina, underlining the Serbian identity of the periodical. This brought him often in conflict with the Bosnian joint ministry of Finance which partly funded the publication.[118] But the Serbian government would not become *Bosanska Vila*'s patron and the only money he received from Belgrade was from private subscribers. One of the reasons for this could be his difficult relation with Jovan Skerlić, the real patron (and sometimes benefactor) of Serbian writers in that time. This Belgrade professor, who was also politically influential, wrote in a negative tone about the provincial, amateurish journal: "Writers second or third class…pictures of dubious literary figures on the cover, even more so, of dubious political figures."[119]

Skerlić, as can be seen in the graph, was an influential broker in the network. His 'node' is one of the thickest in the graph. As a writer, a critique, a public figure and an advisor of politics and culture, he connected the Bosnian literary circles to those of Serbia, and, after all,

[115] Kruševac, *Bosanske Hercegovačke Listovi*, 315.
[116] Among them the politician Svetozar Miletić, activist Svetozar Marković, and poet Jovan Jovanović Zmaj. See: Latinka Perović, *Srpski Socijalisti 19. Veka* (Belgrade: Rad, 1985), Jovan Skerlić, *Omladina i njena književnost* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966) – first edition 1914, Gale Stokes, *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth Century Serbia* (Durham/London: Duke UP, 1990), 42-54.
[117] Dejan Djuričković, *Bosanska Vila 1885-1914* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 32.
[118] Kruševac, *Bosanske Hercegovačke Listovi*, 325.
[119] Cited in Kruševac, *Bosanske Hercegovačke Listovi*, 323.

with the rest of Europe. The third cluster is the group around the literary periodical *Zora* (light blue) from Mostar. The *Bosanska Vila*-editor Kašiković, as a monopolist, had felt threatened when the other Serbian periodical started to appear in Bosnia. The young Šantić, Čorović and Dučić had published in his *Bosanska Vila* before, but started their own 'modernist' periodical *Zora* in 1896. Because *Bosanska Vila* was a periodical from Sarajevo, run by dilettantish teachers who were educated in Vojvodina, while *Zora* was from Mostar, run by children of the small bourgeois elite who were educated at European universities, we can distinguish here two competing circles. The competition began with some expressions of jealousy. For example, shortly after the first *Zora* had appeared, *Bosanska Vila* started publishing negative reviews of the poetry of Aleksa Šantić.[120]

The last two clusters are the edges linking the various local student initiatives of Mostar, from the political platform *Sloboda* (in red) to the secret literary society of *Matica*. Many authors stress the importance and meaning of the reading rooms in Mostar, Sarajevo and other cities.[121] These reading rooms, plus the existence of a new class of gymnasium students, made it also possible for young people from lower classes to participate in culture. In the graph this is visible: the *Mala Biblioteka* of Mostar is the connection between the older Mostar-circle and the younger circle of gymnasium students.

The strongest nodes in the whole network are of Vladimir Gaćinović and Dimitije Mitrinović. They connected the clusters of the Bosnian-Serbs, both from Belgrade and Sarajevo, with Mostar, and, eventually, with Vienna. In other words, it makes sense, to see the personal networks of these two pioneers as the basic structure of the youth movement. When Žerajić and Mitrinović, together with others, founded *Zora*, a new South Slav student journal in Vienna, it seems that the personal network of the Mostar gymnasium students was about to expand towards Central Europe.

---

[120] Narodna Biblioteka Srbije – Andre Gavrilović, "Ocjene i prikaze: Pjesme Alekse Šantića" *Bosanska Vila* 9, issue 6 (1896) 98-99.
http://digital.nub.rs/pdf/bosvila/1896/06.pdf (accessed February 2015).
[121] Risto Besarović, *Iz kulturne i političke istorije Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966), 26-60; Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 105-110; Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 49.

2.6: Conclusions: Genealogy and generations

In his 1945 book, Veselin Masleša explains how Young Bosnia was the result of the incomprehension between the first and second generation of Bosnian Serbs in the period of Austrian occupation.[122] The observation is correct in part, but some nuances must be added.

The first generation was formed after the Berlin congress. This generation of Bosnian Serbs had fought for autonomy in the Serbian schools. This movement had reached its goals in 1905 and, consequently, stopped being active. In the Marxist view of Masleša, these representatives of the 'first generation' were mostly capitalist collaborationists, who benefited from their privileged position in the Austrian-Hungarian society, and who eventually have hampered the liberation of the lower classes. Among these privileged Bosnian Serb dignitaries of the upper-class were the people behind the first periodicals, such as *Zora*. Masleša especially criticized the group behind what I called the "First Mostar Circle", including Šantić and Šola (the last editor of *Zora* before it stopped being published).

This notion of an elderly generation neglecting the rights of Bosnian Serb people was already articulated by Petar Kočić around 1900. Therefore, the ideas as developed by Masleša are unmistakably borrowed from the writings of historical protagonists themselves. Gavrilo Princip would recall the generation gap to the psychiatrist in prison: "The older generation was of different opinion from the younger one as to how to bring it about … the older generation wanted to secure liberty from Austrian in a legal way; we do not believe in such liberty."[123] Another young Bosnian wrote: "We do not have to stem our ideas from the older generation; on the contrary, if the young generation would not exist, then it should have been invented, because the older generation has proven to be incapable to live."[124] Dimitrije Mitrinović linked in one of his essays

[122] Veselin Masleša, *Mlada Bosna* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1964 [1945]), 42-43.
[123] *Ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo. Gavrilo Princips Bekenntnisse* (Vienna, 1926).
[124] Letter of Petar Guteša to Todor Ilić (1912) in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 93.

a subjective notion of time with generational awareness: "Thus we of tomorrow who live in today are closer to our most distant grandchildren who will possess the truth than to our nearest grandfathers who were in error."[125]

The generational consciousness was one of the primary aspects of the young Bosnian world view: they believed they were new, fresh, modern, and - in all aspects - better than the elderly generation. This was not very specific for the Bosnian situation in those first decades of the twentieth century, because in Europe, as well as in the US, a generation gap was felt. Especially in societies were developments were moving very fast, such as the Bosnian society, the younger generations felt a great responsibility to create history. The sociologist Karl Mannheim adopted Wilhelm Dilthey's qualitative notion of time to explain that one generation differs from the other because they have - collectively - experienced specific historical events.[126] Using Mannheim's concepts, we observe that the first educated Bosnian generation were formed by the early formative years of the Austro-Hungarian colonial rule. The second generation, which was born after the Berlin Congress, were formed by the international events of the early 20th century, including the annexation crisis of 1908. Possibly, the first generation primarily wanted to survive after all these years of hard troubles, while the second generation needed a reason to live: a cause, a target, a conflict. However, the second generation did not substitute the first generation, they coexisted in time. This means that the notion of a generational difference was "experienced" in the first place as a difference of ideas, not, or just partly, of lifetimes.

Kočić's observation that there were two generations with different methods and ideas is therefore first and foremost a perception. But even when we would follow his argumentation, the image of the

[125] Dimitrije Mitrinovic, "Aesthetic Contemplations" in: H.C. Rutherford (ed.), *Certainly, Future: Selected Writings of Dimitrije Mitrinovic* (New York: Columbia UP, 1987), 17–43:35. Originally published in *Bosanska Vila* 1913.

[126] Mannheim's words: "The social phenomenon of 'generations' represents nothing more than a particular kind of identity of location, embracing related 'age-groups' embedded in a historical-social process." See: Alan B. Spitzer, "The Historical Problem of Generations" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 78 (1973/5) 1353-1385: 1354. Mannheim's original essay was published in: Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations" in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1959), 276-322.

generation *gap* is misleading. Masleša likes to explain the failure of Young Bosnia's as a consequence of the moderate and partly collaborative behavior of the first generation. But he ignores the fact that these upper-class bourgeois writers and activists, such as the *Zora*-editors and Jovan Dučić, paved the way for the younger generation. Without all the platforms, forums, choirs, periodicals, and cultural initiatives founded by the representatives of the first generation, the persons of the 'second Mostar circle' would have had no opportunity to publish their poems and articles. And moreover: the older generation strongly supported and incited the younger generation. Jovan Dučić, a typical writer of the first generation, wrote enthusiastically about Petar Kočić in *Bosanska Vila*: "Kočić's books are the most patriotic ones in our entire literature … These are rhapsodies about the wretched peasant who is a martyr as opposed to the poetized peasants in golden garments with his grandfather's silver guns to shoot at weddings and church celebrations…"[127] Once again: two generations in time.

All in all, the two generations were for sure different. However, they were that much interconnected (see the SNA-network figure) that it would be a fallacy to imagine an unbridgeable gap between them. Writers from both generations collaborated on a serious level, for example in editing and writing *Bosanska Vila*. The 'fathers' of the first generation were involved in the upbringing of the young. Periodicals such as *Bosanska Vila* also expressed the wish that the new generation would create a better future. A reason for this was that they had been schooled abroad, in several "cultural centers" where they had got to know the international problems, which made them realize about domestic problems, and how to possibly solve them.[128]

[127] Jovan Dučić, "Petar Kočić" *Bosanska Vila* 26 Nr 7-8 (1911), 97-99, cited in: Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, *Tradition and Avant-Garde: Literature and Art in Serbian Culture 1900-1918* (New York: Boulder, 1988), 56.
[128] Đuričković, *Bosanska Vila*, 219.

Part III: Universities

Introduction: Coalition making in university towns

In Svetislav Basara's recent novel *The Angel of the Attack* the fictionalized character Franz Ferdinand explains to Count Berchtold:

> "Without German and Austrian romantic poets, philosophers and musicians, there would have been no Serbs, no Croats, no Czechs, no Slovaks, no Hungarians, no Rumanians, and maybe even no Russians, at least not in today's sinister form. The real home of these Scythian nations is, and please remember this, not the Asian steppes but the Viennese national library!"[1]

Although these observations are nothing but exaggerations from a ridiculed historical figure in a novel, the statement explains real historical developments in part. It was not so much in the regions themselves, as well as in intellectual centers abroad where 'hub networks' of pioneers transformed into national movements.

Part III elaborates on this transformation. To do so, we must first acknowledge some general arguments *how* networks of students could possibly transform into political protest movements. I have formulated five general arguments about group dynamics and mobilization. Then, in the following chapters, I discuss several cases and link them with these arguments.

The first argument is rather obvious: groups somehow *always* mobilize themselves. Group identities are formed automatically when network stabilize into hubs. A number of persons who gather regularly, socialize into a group, and every group will at one point discuss target aims and objectives. Identities are shaped in this process. Charles Tilly

[1] Svetislav Basara, *Anđeo Atentata* (Belgrade: Laguna, 2015), 35. The German nationalist revival among students in Vienna was also strongly linked with the Lesevereine and the intellectual infrastructure of the city. See: William J. McGrath, "Student Radicalism in Vienna" *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (1967/3) 183-201.

has distinguished between embedded identity and detached identity.[2] The earlier is rooted in daily social life routine (think of kinship, race, gender, but also ethnicity and locality). In other words, embedded identities are reinterpretations of already existing social preconditions and often lie at the basis of a group formation process. In contrast, *detached* identities are selectively chosen by a group of persons, sharing the same ideal, ideology, or craftsmanship. If this group of people, connected through a detached, selected identity, gathers on a regular basis, their network stabilizes into a hub, possibly later a movement, which is likely to address social and political issues. The detached identity, as something which is formed as a consequence of the (temporary) stabilized network, *facilitates the emergence of a political consciousness*, and, as Florence Passy has concluded, becomes "a cultural resource for joining the protest."[3] A good example of a group of young people with a detached identity are the young Bosnian German contemporaries of the *Wandervogel*. The identity of these youngsters was at first a-political and romantic (rambling through forests and fields, singing songs, experience and enjoy the beautiful countryside) but, as Laqueur has convincingly shown, during the first decades of the 20th century they became increasingly political.[4]

Second: The development in a group is also strongly dependent on individual actors. The charisma of leaders can play a determining role.[5] Individuals, unlike groups, have the ability to invent and steer the change.

The third argument revolves around the question of 'events'. Events have influence on rising political awareness because of their *strong narrative meaning*.[6] International historical events, such as the

---

[2] Charles Tilly, "From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements" in: Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 253-271: 264.
[3] Passy, "Networks matter: but how?", 6.
[4] Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 1962) 6-7.
[5] Mario Diani, "Leaders or Brokers? Positions and Influence in Social Movement Networks" in: Doug McAdam and Maria Diani (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 106-122
[6] Pamela Oliver, Jorge Cadena-Roa and Kelly Strawn, "Emerging Trends in the Study of Protest and Social Movements" in: Dobratz et. al. (eds.), *Political Sociology for the 21st century: Research in Political Sociology* (Stanford: JAI Press, 2003), 213-244: 220-225.

annexation crisis of 1908, as well as smaller, local events, accelerate the integration process of social networks. Political events, as performances of problems, are easier to comprehend than complicated on-going social and economic processes. Series of events are sealed with stories, and, subsequently, these stories unite people. In this part I discuss the meaning and importance of several events in the years 1903-1914, including the annexation and the student demonstrations of 1912. Both events accumulated strong narratives of a new generation rising up against the Austro-Hungarians. The 'stories' which were made out of the events lived on in memory. In this context, leaders in the movement became prototypes of the ultimate opponent, and, eventually, protagonists of the story.

Fourth: Groups can be formed as a result of (top-down) agency. The Austro-Hungarian Empire created new spaces for anti-imperial associations through their schooling and security policy. Meanwhile, the young Bosnian network grew connected to the power holders in the neighboring Serbian state. This was, for a large part, the result of pro-active Serbian foreign policy. This part aims analyzing the measures of both Austro-Hungarian and Serbian power holders. What consequences, both expected and unexpected, had their policy for the growth and development of protest movements?

The fifth argument is about coalition-making processes. Social movements gain in strength when they, as Tilly suggested, grow in 1) number, 2) worthiness, 3) unity, and 4) commitment.[7] Paradoxically, commitment and unity often decrease when numbers increase. Coalitions between several likeminded networks strengthen the protest movement, but often compromise the protest issue itself. For example, Vladimir Gaćinović wrote in one of his letters that no Croatian water should be poured in the 'pure' Serbian wine.[8] This warning was given in the times of intensified collaboration between young Croats and Serbs in Bosnia.

In this part I discuss the coalition-making process of the youth movements, when students in Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and several Bosnian towns began collaborating with each other, and how this process influenced individual social and political engagement.

[7] Tilly, "From Interactions to Outcomes", 261.
[8] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 87.

Concept: A European map

This part is structured as a sort of map, showing 'stations' or 'crossroads'. Whereas the first two parts ("Schools" and "Reading Rooms") addressed the *Bosnian context* of the movement, this chapter addresses the *European context*, and focuses on Vienna, Prague, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo as spaces of communication. [9] Vienna and Prague were important destinations of South-Slavic students and, therefore, places where group identities of Bosnian-Serb, Serb, and Croatian students were shaped and strengthened. Politicized Young Bosnian students in Central European university towns had a complicated relation with their comrades in the country itself. Those who stayed were in danger of arrest, but those who left were in danger of losing contact with the country itself. Travel in Europe was thus more than a career-opportunity or an escape from local miseries; it also meant a shifting state of mind, getting in touch with new worlds and ideas. Additionally, the students enrolled in universities, which are completely different cultural and educational institutions compared to the reading rooms at home. In secondary or primary education the focus is on facts and information. On universities, today as well as back then, the focus is on learning, understanding, and elaborating.[10] Teachers do play a different role in the universities: they provide the students with a variety of perspectives on "truth", and stimulate critical judgment or awareness. It appears, as I will show in this part that some teachers had a lasting influence on the young Bosnian and other South Slavic students.

In cultural history, the transport and epidemic spread of ideas has been researched from sociological, linguistic and other perspectives. Since the 1980s the subject has been linked with the notion of *cultural*

[9] Inspired by the *Spatial Turn* in the humanities Karl Schlögel did interesting research in the meaning of cities as spaces of communication and politicization. The best example of this is his book about the urban networks of Saint Petersburg, which forms an inspiration for this part of my dissertation: Karl Schlögel, *Petersburg: Das Laboratorium der Moderne* (Munich: Hanser, 2002). More about the Spatial Turn in: Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann, "Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raume?" in: Idem (eds.), *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008). Another recent example of city-geography linked to student networks is: Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015).

[10] Frank Parkin, "Adolescent Status and Student Politics" *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 Nr. 1 (1970), 144-155:151.

transfer and the function of networks in cultural entanglements.[11] Especially the cultural routes between Prague, Vienna, and Sarajevo can be seen as an interesting example of *cultural transfer*. Belgrade was a place where the agency of power holders was relatively strong. The Serbian government and military circles did their best to get the young Bosnian students involved in their plans and activities. Zagreb and Sarajevo, eventually, were places where coalitions were made. These chapters are connected through micro-studies about individual persons who were 'living links' in the network. I have included these micro-histories in order to prove the meaning of individual actors and pioneers, the 'brokers'. The individuals discussed are, among others, Petar Kočić, Stjepan Radić, Dimitrije Mitrinović, and Gavrilo Princip. The arguments follow the routes of particular individuals, in order to show how ideas are transported through small personal networks.[12] From a bird's eye perspective, this part offers the image of a network of nodes (cities, spaces) and connections (persons, networkers).

3.1 Vienna - Libraries, Institutions and Student Societies

Introduction: The National Library

The fictionalized Franz Ferdinand in Basara's novel was right: Vienna was the home of many 'national awakeners'. In 1847 the Czech František Rieger mentioned in his diary an evening in the famous coffee house *Sperl*, where many leading figures of the Slavic world were present: the Russian prince Trubetzkoy and the Polish prince Czartoryski, the Serbian

[11] The cultural transfer is first discussed by Michel Espagne. See: Michel Espagne and Michael Werner (eds.), *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations 1988). The cultural transfer has found its way to the German and French scholarly disciplines. Of some use for this subject is the series *Wechselwirkungen*, published by academic publisher Peter Lang.
[12] Pros and cons of research into the functions and meanings of small networks are discussed in: Duncan Watts, *Small Worlds: The Dynamics of Networks between Order and Randomness* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999).

prince Mihajlo Obrenović, the Russian-Orthodox priest Rajevskij, Dr. Grünwald, dr. Dworaczek, the Slovenian philologist Franz Miklosič and the Serbian language reformer Vuk Karadžić.[13] The kings, princes, poets and scholars attended a concert of a Slavic choir and a *Militarkapelle*. Although the lyrics of the songs were strictly censored by the Austrian police, Rieger recalled how the (uncensored, thus patriotic) songs were sung later that night. Its words were echoed in the back-alleys of Vienna.

In the Imperial capital many Czech, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats and differently identified Slavic migrants were inspired by the fellow-Slavs and their movements, they shared ideas, they collaborated and formed alliances. "The Slavic Idea" was, according to some, much more developed in Vienna than in Moscow or in Petersburg.[14] Already in the phase of the early romantic nationalists, in the early 19th century, there was a lively correspondence and collaboration between West Slavs (Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks) and South Slavs (foremost Croats and Slovenes, but also Serbs). Worth to mention are the names of Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), Czech scholar in Vienna, and Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844), the Slovenian librarian of the Habsburgs, who functioned as mentor of Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864).[15] Kopitar's cheerful meetings with friends and colleagues in the Viennese bar *Zum weißen Wolfen* strengthened and enlarged the intellectual Central-European Slavic network.[16] Kopitar was, besides a jolly drinking buddy, also the founding father of Slavic Studies and Balkan Studies in Vienna. People like Kopitar and Dobrovský all favored the rise of specific nations, but, at the same time, were eagerly learning from other's national awakenings. Their nationalism was 'pluralist'. The way how they shaped the heritage and memory of their culture was, for example, inspired by German

[13] Cited in: Dejan Medaković, *Serben in Wien* (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2001), 22.
[14] Andreas Moritsch, "Der Austroslavismus – ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas" in: Idem, (ed.), *Der Austroslavismus – ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 11-24: 13.
[15] Markus Wirtz, *Josef Dobrovský und die Literatur: frühe bohemistische Forschung zwischen Wissenschaft und nationalem Auftrag* (Dresden: Dresden UP, 1999); Ingrid Merchiers, *Cultural nationalism in the South Slav Habsburg lands in the early nineteenth century: the scholarly network of Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844)* (Ghent: Unpublished dissertation, 2006).
[16] Joep Leerssen, "Bomen hebben wortels, mensen hebben benen, ideeën hebben vleugels", *Negentiende Eeuw* 32 (2008), 3-14:11.

philology and the works of the Grimm brothers. The crisscrossing of cultural models, representations, and ideas of both individuals and groups from one culture to the other (and back), is illustrated with the case of the already mentioned *connectors* who are discussed in the previous part: Professor Ľudovít Štúr in Pozsony (Pressburg/Bratislava) and Ján Kollár in Prague.[17] Both inspired the world-views of the South Slavic students in their classrooms. Their visions of Slav identity influenced the national revival of Slovaks, Serbs, Croats and Czechs. These mediators show how individual intellectuals in the 19th century could bear the *Cultural Transfer* in themselves.

For a long time Bosnians were almost absent at Central-European universities. Intellectual infrastructures of Bosnia, but also of other Austro-Hungarian provinces like Slavonia and Dalmatia, were simply underdeveloped. However, as Suppan and Otruba have shown, the number of South Slavic students grew remarkably fast in the first two decades of the 20th century and around 1910 there were already 2500 students at Austro-Hungarian universities.[18]

Vienna was the first destination. But after 1900 more and more Bosnian students decided to leave for Prague. Because the Viennese circles spread through Central Europe and were overlapping and mutually influencing each other, I discuss the Austro-Hungarian networks in this part through the routes from Sarajevo to Vienna, via Belgrade, and then to Prague.

---

[17] See for elaborate study about Kollár, Štúr, and Safarik in: Robert Pynsent, *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (London: Central European UP, 1994), 43–99.

[18] Gustav Otruba, "Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation der Donaumonarchie – nationale Erziehungsstätten im Vielvölkerreich 1850 bis 1914" in: Christian Helfer and Mohammed Rassem (eds.), *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert: Studien und Materialien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 75-158:138. Arnold Suppan, "Bildungspolitische Emanzipation und Gesellschaftliche Modernisierung: Die südslawischen Studenten an der tschechischen Universität Prag um die Jahrhundertwende und der Einfluss Professor Masaryks", in: Georg and Plaschka, *Wegenetz Europäischen Geistes*, 303-325; 304; Otruba, „Die Universitäten", 138-139. Suppan calculated around 16.000 'intellectuals' in 1910, a bit less than one percent of the population of Croatia-Slavonia. Suppan, 'Comments' *Austrian History Yearbook* 15-16 (1979-1980), 34-35, cited in: Dennis Rusinow, "The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia" in: Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism: Histories of a failed Idea 1918-1992* (London: Hurst and Company, 2003), 11-26:14.

Bosnian Serb students in Vienna grouped together in associations. The first Viennese society for Serbian students wrote in their first yearbook (1863) how Vienna was a 'foreign world' to many of the naïve sons from the periphery: "As sons of the Serbian nation, true to the local customs, they [we] organize a meeting [in Vienna], to get to know each other, to greet and kiss each other - like brothers."[19]

During the early years of the Bosnian occupation, only few students went abroad: the average number of obtained stipends in the early decades of the occupation was 4.5.[20] In the years between 1884 (when the Provincial Government started to develop educational policy) to 1898, 57 Bosnian students in total obtained a stipend for academic studies abroad: 39 students went to Vienna, the other 18 studied in Graz, Innsbruck and at the Theological Faculty of Czernowitz. The Bosnian students in Vienna studied at the Law Faculty (16), the Medical Faculty (6), Philosophical Faculty (6), the Technical High school (2) and in the Art School (1), Veterinary School (2), the Pedagogical School (5) and the private *Theresianum* (1).[21] The majority of these students were of catholic belief (28), followed by Serb-Orthodox (17), Muslims (10) and Jews (2). The remarkably small amount of stipends given to Jews can be explained with the fact that the Sarajevo cultural institution *La Benevolencia* (since 1892) offered talented Jewish students stipends for studying abroad. Private money is for obvious reasons not included in Džaja's calculations. This must be taken into account, also for the other confessional groups. Rich Orthodox merchants or Ottoman landowners were capable to finance the education of their children from their family's resources (think of Jovan Dučić and Aleksa Šantić). Besides the

[19] *Zora: Književni Rad srpskog đačkog društva u Beču* (Vienna: Srpski Akad. Društvo Zora, 1875) 7.

[20] For statistics giving clarity about Bosnian students in Vienna, we can for a large part rely on the excellent archival research of Srećko Džaja. See: Op. Cit., 156-188. For the whole Austro-Hungarian period of Bosnia he examined the stipends given to students to go abroad for studies. These figures give some idea about the routes and activities of Bosnian students in the centers of education, since it is unlikely many students could do without these stipends. The stipends for Bosnian-Serb students, provided by Prosvjeta, were analyzed by Božidar Madžar in his book: *Prosvjeta: Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo 1902-1949* (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauke RS, 2002).

[21] Ibidem. The Theresianische Akademie was (and is) a private elite school, founded by Habsburg Empress Maria Theresia.

provincial stipend-system, there were, of course, also religious infrastructures for especially Catholics and Orthodox to study at Seminaries and theological faculties. After the Berlin Congress less and less Muslims would go to study in Istanbul, but the connection with the Ottoman Empire was never really broken – as can be seen in the example of Osman Đikić, the Muslim poet from Mostar who finished his studies in Istanbul.[22]

Monitoring Bosnian students

Benjamin Kállay never seriously considered founding a University in Bosnia. He feared that the growth of a local student population would foster anti-Austrian feelings. Similar arguments were still used in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War. In 1913, Governor Biliński suggested *Landesschef* Potiorek to open a university in Sarajevo, in order to keep the students under control, and prevent them from going to cities of potential politicization, such as Belgrade, and Prague.[23] Potiorek, the strict general, replied three arguments. First, he thought it would not be wise to train too many people for an administrative job. In other words, he was afraid of a large bureaucratic class in Bosnia, especially when they would be unemployed, and, consequently, bored. Second, he presumed it would be impossible in Bosnia to reach the academic level of the Universities of Vienna and Budapest. His most interesting third argument was that the Bosnian students should not attend any University in Sarajevo, because "the mental ties to the Monarchy were not strong enough."[24] In fact, Potiorek thought wrongly that studying in Vienna would fill the hearts of the students with patriotic love for the Emperor and the Monarchy.

Kállay, Potiorek's illustrious predecessor, had had other impressions. Already before the turn of the century, the politicization of the Bosnian youth had come on the surface. In order to counter the influence of Young Czechs, Young Slovaks, Young Poles and other potential anti-Austrian movements, Kállay ordered to construct a dormitory, a Bosnian Institute in Vienna (*Hochschulinstitut Wien*), where

[22] Džaja, op. cit., 161.
[23] Arhiv BiH - Letter of Oskar Potiorek to Leon Ritter von Biliński (Jänner 1913.) Privat Register. Briefe. 20/1913 and 718/1913.
[24] Ibidem.

the students from the newest province were supposed to live and work.[25] This dormitory was to prevent the rise of a "malkontentes Geistesproletariat": educated but politicized and unemployed citizens, forming potential threats to the hegemonic powers.[26] The Hungarian official Lajos Thálloczy, a close collaborator and colleague of Kállay, wrote in 1904 that the Bosnian youth acquired western culture, but did not absorb the "inner spirit". Hence, as a half-educated caste, they could feel "easy prey to nationalist ideologies".[27]

In this dormitory the Austrian authorities could isolate and, subsequently, control the Bosnians. The aims and objectives of this project are visible in the official report that was written in 1910:

> "So fleißig und brav auch sonst der Großteil der Zöglinge sein mag, eine vollständige Abstinenz vom politischen Getriebe in ihrer Heimat vermögen nur sehr wenige zu beobachten. Es ist in dieser Richtung bezeichnend, dass von den in den letzten Jahren ausgesprochenen 210 Disziplinarstrafen 44 solche Fälle betrafen, in denen Zöglinge an politischen Versammlungen teilgenommen oder Erklärungen politischen Inhalts mitunterzeichnet hatten."[28]

The *Hochschulinstitut Wien* was closed in 1911, since it had not sufficiently countered the politicization of the Bosnian youths and the reactions, especially in Bosnia, were outspokenly negative. It had been unpopular foremost among the Bosnian youths and it is likely it had not prevented but *fostered* anti-Austrian feelings. Some students who had lived there later called it the 'Mameluke factory'; a place where they were transformed into willing slaves of the Austro-Hungarian system.[29] Perhaps in reaction to Kállay's Bosnian dormitories, several Serb, Croat and Muslim associations were prospering at the Vienna universities. The oldest was the already mentioned association *Zora*, for Serbian

[25] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 33-35.
[26] Otto Paul, *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Institutes für bosnisch-hercegowinische Hochschüler in Wien in den ersten zehn Jahren seines Bestandes* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1910), 7: cited in: Džaja, op. cit., 163.
[27] Thálloczy's report of the Bosnian education from 1904 (in Arhiv BiH - ZMF, Pr. BH 1282/1904), as cited in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 136.
[28] Otto Paul, *Bericht*, 19: cited in: Džaja, op. cit., 164.
[29] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 34; Džaja, op. cit., 164.

students.[30] Its members gathered in Viennese bars or restaurants to discuss literature, art, science, and poetry. Although these societies were strictly censored and controlled, they were still political. In Part II I have already mentioned Kočić's visit to *Zora*, where his story about the badger in court led to vehement debates about the Austrian occupation of Bosnia.[31] In 1890 a meeting was planned to discuss the novel *Labor fights the Poverty* by a certain Bosnian-Serb student of Philosophy named Milojković.[32] The title of this lecture illustrates that these societies were not only about culture.

The Croats and Muslims also founded their student societies in Vienna. Alterations in the statutes can still be found in the Archive of the University of Vienna. They shed some light on the power struggle between associations and the University *Rektorat*. Between 1910 and 1912 both Croat *Zvonimir* and Muslim *Zvijezda* were summoned to include an extra paragraph in their statutes, stating that members were obliged to "respect the rules of academic peace" and that those violating this rule were supposed to be "expelled from the society".[33] Between the lines of the statutes one can read the crucial problems the Austrian authorities had with these associations. For example, both organizations stressed that their aims were strictly cultural, and that their main occupation included harmless activities such as singing, discussing poetry and playing the *tamburica* (mandolin): "Jede Politik ist aus dem Vereine ausgeschlossen."[34] But, at the same time, these same statutes indicated how the national flags and banners were supposed to look like, and, in the case of *Zvonimir*, how the members were related to the Croatian nation. Nationalism was strictly forbidden, and socialist sentiments were to be kept at bay. But often they went hand in hand. In 1905, Bosnian-Serb students in Vienna founded the more socialist-

[30] This association must not be confused with the periodical from Mostar. A monograph about *Zora* was written by Vladimir Ćorović: *Istorije Zore* (Ruma: Štamparija Đ. Petrovića, 1905).
[31] Vladimir Ćorović, "Jazavac pred sudom u Zori" *Srpski Književni Glasnik* 2 (1910) 118-123, cited in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume I*, 39.
[32] Archiv der Universität Wien [AUW] - Serb. Akad. Verein "Zora" in Wien - S165.305
[33] AUW - "Zvonimir" – Kroat. Acad. Studentenverein - S165.304; Islamitisch Akad. Vereinigung "Zvijezda" - S165.306
[34] Ibidem, "Zvonimir".

oriented association *Rad* ("Labor").[35] The association had a reading room, where 'economic' leaflets and books could be read: "The aim of the association is the economic scientific education of the members by means of lectures and debates."[36] However, *Rad* also published the first writings of Dimitrije Mitrinović, who wrote about many things, but not so much about economy.[37]

In the alterations of the statutes of *Rad* we can read that, in case of a dissolution of the association, all leftover money will be transferred to *Prosvjeta*, in Sarajevo.[38] It shows how these Viennese student associations were not less, but more connected to Bosnia, thanks to the cultural institutions in Sarajevo. This is exactly what Kállay, and later Potiorek, had tried to prevent. But after 1902 cultural institutes like Prosvjeta in Sarajevo became increasingly important for spreading political and national ideas, meanwhile cultivating nationalism of South Slav students in Vienna. The money was spent with the hope and belief that the students would come back from Vienna as leading intellectuals, maybe future politicians, realizing prosperity and autonomy. One of the Viennese students who indeed came back to the Balkans was Petar Kočić.

"Light-headed and work-shy individual"

After Kočić was expelled from the Sarajevo gymnasium in 1895 he went to Belgrade in Serbia to continue his education. By that time he was already observed by the Austrian services, as is shown in a report of the Banja Luka court that says that he crossed the Bosnian-Serbian border without a passport and that he was paid by the Serbian government. The report calls Kočić a: "leichtsinnig, arbeitsscheues Individuum".[39] Kočić was unhappy and miserable in Belgrade, and wrote cheerless and bitter

[35] More details about the activities of Bosnian-Serbs in *Rad* are mentioned in a letter of Pero Slijepčević to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstenje*, 24-25; "Akadem. Drustvo Srba iz Bosne i Hercegovine 'Rad' u Becu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 46-48.
[36] AUW - Akademischer Verein der Serben aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina "Rad" (Arbeit) - S 165.208
[37] Rigney, *Initiation and Initiative*, 11.
[38] AUW - "Rad" (Arbeit) - S 165.208.
[39] Izveštaj seoskog kotarskog ureda u Banjoj Luci - okružnoj oblasti u Banjoj Luci 15/11/1895, in: Todor Kruševac (ed.), *Petar Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa* (Sarajevo: Muzej Književnosti, 1967), 21.

letters to friends and family in Bosnia.[40] However, at school he was quite successful, and his graduation papers show good grades in 1899 for almost all subjects. [41] It is not sure whether Kočić was already acquainted with Jovan Skerlić and his literary clique, but Belgrade was still a small Balkan city with close tied networks and it is very plausible he had met the literary scholar already before 1900.

In 1899 he moved to Vienna to study Slavic Studies. Interestingly, his career as a writer and political activist really was first set in motion in Vienna. He began writing stories who received praise in the (Serbian) press. This brought him some, albeit meagre financial support: in the autumn of 1900 he received a request from the real editor of *Bosanska Vila* if he wanted to write for the Bosnian periodical, promising him a small stipend as a reward.[42] Further he was actively involved in the activities of the Viennese Serbian academic society of *Zora*, although he brought himself also into troubles with the other members. He considered them too moderate, too much biased by Austrian culture, and not energetic enough to stand up for the peasant cause in Bosnia.[43]

In 1901, Kočić spoke out publicly as one of the subscribers of a declaration of the "Slovenian and Serbian Bosnian-Herzegovinian University Youth of Vienna". The declaration was a negative reaction to a plan for a Croatian annexation of Bosnia, which was supposedly discussed shortly before during a journalist meeting in Dubrovnik. The declaration ended with the following statements:

> "The Serbian academic youth is convinced, that it applies to the feelings of 80 % of the population of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the Orthodox and the Muslims, that the vast majority of Bosnians is against the annexation of their homeland, and they will reject by all legal means any unnatural solution of the status of Bosnia and Hercegovina. Whoever works against this and speaks differently, we

[40] Kruševac, Kočić: *Dokumentarna Građa*, 26-27.
[41] Ibidem.
[42] Pismo Nikole Kašikovića - Petru Kočiću u Beč 22/11/1900, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 40. Much later Petar Kočić expressed his gratitute to Kašiković for his support in those worrisome years:
[43] Kruševac, *Petar Kočić*, 115-117.

consider our enemy, and we will challenge them with more chaos and unrest!"[44]

When we take a look at the subscribers of the declaration we find a number of important names.[45] Their life-lines shed some light on the significance of this small group of students. First, Božidar Čerović, by then a student of philosophy, would later become an official in the Austrian-Bosnian government. Interestingly, in his book about the Young Bosnian movement, which was published in 1930, he glorifies Gavrilo Princip and Vladimir Gaćinović.[46] Then, Vasilj Grđić, a key figure of the new generation in Bosnia, who however worked in-between the youth movements and the official representation. After graduation in Vienna, he became a writer and editor of several Bosnian media, including the *Serbian Word* (*Srpska Riječ*) and *People* (*Narod*). Moreover, he was a driving force behind the Prosvjeta institute, which made him an important mediator between younger students and more established national workers.[47] Apparently he was one of the persons who spoke to Bogdan Žerajić when he was on his way to assassinate Franz Joseph during his official visit to Bosnia.[48] Later, after the annexation crisis, he collaborated with Petar Kočić as a coordinator of several Bosnian-Serb organizations. After the First World War he became a writer and politician in the first Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[49] Another subscriber, Uroš Krulj, was from Mostar and was by that time already pursued by the Austrian government. According to Austrian sources, he

[44] Srbi Studenti iz Bosne i Hercegovine protiv aneksije, april 1901, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 43.
[45] The subscribers are: Aleksandar Babić, Aco Despić, Božidar Čerović, Vasilj Grđić, Dušan Ćorović, Đorđe Pejanović, Jovo Simić, Josif Kostić, Lazar Dimitrijević, Mihajlo Bukvić, Milan Skršić, Milorad Nikolić, Nikola Stojanović, Petar Kočić, Todor Jeremić, Uroš Krulj.
[46] Božo Čerović, *Bosanski omladinci i Sarajevski Atentat* (Sarajevo: Trgovačka štamparija 1930)27-60.
[47] Draga Mastilović, "Mostar kao kulturni srediste hercegovačkih Srba krajem XIX i početkom XX vijeka" *Doprinos Srba Bosne i Hercegovine nauci i kulturi: Zbornik radova* (Pale: Fil. Fak. Univ. Istočnog Sarajeva, 2007), 279-303: 296, 298.
[48] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 313.
[49] *Stenografske Beleške Narodne Škupstine Kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Belgrade: 1934) Accessible on Sistory (Slovenian History website): http://www.sistory.si/publikacije/prenos/?urn=SISTORY:ID:3524 (accessed June 2015).

was in regular contact with the Serbian minister Nikola Pašić, corresponding about financial support for the Bosnian-Serb association and periodicals.[50] And Đorđe Pejanović was a writer and teacher, also working for *People,* the *Serbian Word,* and for *Prosvjeta*.[51] A few years later he would be the man behind *Srpska Omladina* (Serbian Youth), the first exclusively periodical of the Bosnian Serb young generation.[52]

In short, this clique around Petar Kočić in Vienna was a challenging group. According to the police authorities in Vienna, these youngsters were puppets of the influential leaders of the Sarajevo Serbs, including the rich tycoon Gligorije Jeftanović, and *Bosanska Vila*-editor Nikola Kašiković. [53] This presumption is partly correct. There was evidence of close ties between Kašiković and Kočić, and some of the subscribers were in contact with the wealthy and powerful Jeftanović - the 'tycoon' of Sarajevo. When in 1907 the bourgeois-oriented Serbian National Organization (*Srpska Narodna Organizacija*) was founded by representatives from several newspapers, the Austrians were turning their attention to these interconnected circles of Mostar and Sarajevo Bosnian-Serb upper-class and the Viennese students.[54] Accordingly, the Austrian police took the names from the declaration and started following these persons, reading their articles and short fiction stories. The meaning of the Viennese challenging group was later approved by the insider Pero Slijepčević in a letter to a historian: "The organizations in Vienna established student committees with the task of preparing rebellious activities in case of a coming war. They sent delegates to Prague and Zagreb to expand the organization."[55]

The long arms of Belgrade's "Slavic South"

Kočić's literary debut *S planine i ispod planine* (From the mountains and the foothills) was published in 1903 and was praised by the Serbian press

[50] HHSTA 75 – P.A. XIX Serbien – Liasse XI/ 1-4; K.K. Generalstabes K. No 2/B Vertrauensnachrichten aus dem Okkupationsgebiete 1/1/1908.
[51] Draga Mastilović, "Mostar kao kulturni središte", 296.
[52] Letter of Milan Stojaković to Borivoje Jevtić 02/07/1912 in: Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna: Pisma I Prilozi*, 177-179.
[53] Kruševac, Kočić: *Dokumentarna Građa*, 52.
[54] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 263; Masleša, *Mlada Bosna*, 85-100.
[55] Letter of Pero Slijepčević to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstenja*, 23.

in Bosnia, Serbia, and Austria. That year he received a letter from Belgrade from Jovan Skerlić, who asked him to contribute to the prestigious *Serbian Literary Herald*, a periodical which was founded two years before in order to give more publication opportunities to the younger generation of poets.[56]

1903 meant an important year in Serbian history, because the last king of the Obrenović dynasty was assassinated. The pro-Austrian king Obrenović was replaced by the more pro-Russian and Slav-oriented Karađorđević.[57] Under the rule of the new King Petar, the movement for Greater Serbian or Yugoslav expansion could breathe more freely. Therefore, in the same year the pro-Yugoslav literary youth society *Slovenski Jug* (Slavic South) was founded in Belgrade, under supervision and guidance of Jovan Skerlić.[58] Slovenski Jug was closely associated with the *Serbian Literary Herald*. Besides a literary society, Slovenski Jug also propagated social activities in the region. In contrast to earlier Serbian societies, the Slovenski Jug supported a particular *Yugoslav* cultural revival and worked on the idea of a 'Croatian-Serbian' synthesis. This was definitely a result of Skerlić's influence. The two slogans on the front page were: "South Slavs, unite!" and "Revolution in the not-yet liberated regions". On the second page of the first issue a word was addressed to the Yugo-Slav youth: "The fate of our brothers depends on how much we will be prepared to help them in the struggle…we invite the South-Slavic youth to speak with us and help us, because only if we work one day the Slavic South will be ours!"[59]

Possibly, Slovenski Jug was more than a literary society, publishing a distinguished literary weekly. Dedijer mentions in his book the existence of a statute of a so-called Yugoslav Revolutionary Society, which worked secretly for the spread of Yugoslavism in the Austro-Hungarian lands where Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were living, and that

---

[56] Pismo Jovana Skerlića - Petru Kočiću u Beč, 9/2/1903, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 71. Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, "The Roles of Jovan Skerlić, Steven Mokrajac, and Paja Jovanović in Serbian Cultural History 1900-1914" *Slavic Review* 47 No. 4 (1988), 687-701: 692.

[57] This event will be discussed more in detail in the chapter about Belgrade (3.3).

[58] The founding of the society and the periodical Slavic South was a result of the first Yugoslav Writers' Conference which took place in 1904 in Belgrade. See: Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, *Tradition and Avant-Garde*, 40-41.

[59] NBS - "Jugoslovenskoj Omladini" *Slovenski Jug* 1. Nr. 1 (1903), 2.

was closely related to Slovenski Jug. In the statute can be read that the society was creating a network between all activists in the several Serbo-Croat lands of the Balkans, as well as in the diaspora abroad, oversea, and, above all, with the Serbo-Croat students studying at the universities of Europe.[60]

In accordance with the regime change and the new atmosphere in Belgrade, the Yugoslav, or 'Croato-Serbian' genie was out of the bottle. In 1904 the first South-Slavic congress took place in Belgrade, during the First Yugoslav Art Exhibition. The Belgrade municipality invested 3000 dinars in this Yugoslav art exhibition.[61] Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, and even Bulgarians attended the events. According to Skerlić, the youth activities revived the good old days of the United Serbian Youth in the 1860s and 1870s.[62] In the same spirit of this youth revival, the Belgrade High School was finally turned into a real university in 1905. Skerlić worked as a professor at the university, holding close ties to the Serbian parliament, where he was a respected figure whose advices and suggestions were always taken seriously. When Skerlić's dear Bosnian protégés, like Petar Kočić, went to Belgrade, they were welcomed there with open arms.

Back to Bosnia

When Kočić left Vienna for Serbia he applied for a job as a teacher of Serbian language in a secondary school. Interestingly, the Serbian government gave him the task to teach language to Serbian pupils in the 'not-yet liberated' Turkish province of Macedonia, in the deep south of the Balkans. In 1904 Kočić was sent to Skopje (Turkish: Üsküb) where he taught lessons at the teacher's school and the local gymnasium. According to Kočić, the situation of the Serbian people in Bosnia was nothing compared with the situation in Turkey, and once more he became

[60] The text can be found under footnote 25b on page 466-476 in Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914, Volume 1*. In the process of 1908, the presumable connection to *Slovenski Jug* was one of the main objectives against the Croat-Serb Coalition in Zagreb. Nationalbibliothek Österreich - *Der Agramer Hochverratsprozess und die Annexion von Bosnien und Hercegowina von Professor Dr. Th. G. Masaryk* (Vienna: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen, 1909); 38-44.
[61] NBS - "Pomoc omladini za juznoslovensku izlozbu" *Slovenski Jug* 2 Nr. 30 (1904), 4.
[62] Jovan Skerlić, "Omladinski Kongres" *Srpski Književni Glasnik* 13 no. 2 (1904), 123, cited in: Milojkovic, "The Roles of Jovan Skerlić", 690.

strongly convinced he needed to devote his life to the national liberation struggle. The Serbian gymnasium of Skopje was often attacked by enemies of the Serbs, including the Bulgarian nationalists. A few years later some Bulgarians would even set ablaze the gymnasium in Skopje.[63]

In these times of 1904-1905, the Serbian government invested much in military and educational training in the 'Serbian lands' under Turkish rule, preparing the people for the liberation that was about to come after. In Vranje, not far from Skopje, komitadži were trained in special. Before he returned to Bosnia in 1905, he was nurturing new plans to combine 'national action' with writing. His application for funding and official allowance for founding a new, so-called 'non-political' but however satirical journal in Bosnia was rejected by the Austrian authorities because of all his previous dubious anti-Austrian activities:

> "Doch nicht sein literarischen Wirken … würde ein Gefahr für die Aufrechthaltung des öffentlichen Ruhe und Ordnung hierlands involviren (sic), da doch der Regierung in der Präventivzensur ein Mittel zu Gebote steht, prohibitive vorzugehen; das Übel würde vielmehr darin liegen, dass Kočić durch die Erlangung der angestrebten Konzession im Zentrum des Landes festen Fuß fassen und sich hierdurch in den Stand setzen würde, seine revolutionären Operation eine Basis zu schaffen."[64]

This remark shows that the local government did not consider Kočić a citizen of Bosnia anymore, but rather an international agent of Greater-Serbian agitation. The reference to 'revolutionary operations' indicates that the Austrian authorities saw persons like Kočić as intrinsic troublemakers who would crush the fragile order of the Austro-Hungarian Bosnian society.

Austria however could not prevent Kočić from moving back to the land where he was born, since he was offered a position as secretary at the Prosvjeta institute in Sarajevo. After 1905, Kočić had become a serious opponent. He was aligned with the Serbian government who had financed his studies in Vienna and his work in the Ottoman province of

[63] NBS - *Otadžbina* 1 Nr. 26, 07/12/1907.
[64] Letter of Landesregierung to the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna, 29/01/1906, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 93-96:95:96.

Macedonia, additionally he was now an important figure of the Bosnian-Serb community of Sarajevo, and actually of entire Bosnia-Hercegovina. His short stories already had become classics in the Bosnian-Serb literature and were widely read by a growing number of enthusiasts in the Bosnian schools. In 1903 Jovan Skerlić had addressed Petar Kočić in his letter as "Dear Mr. Kočić", but another letter dated in 1906 began with: "Dear friend".[65]

The career of Petar Kočić could be called exemplary, because he had grown both a leading intellectual of the Bosnian-Serb network, although he was born the son of a *kmet*. His career was the ultimate example of a rapidly changing Bosnian society, and, additionally, the proof that upward mobility was actually quite possible under the new Austro-Hungarian rule.

Fatherland

In 1907 Petar Kočić founded his own weekly paper *Otadžbina* (Fatherland), the organ of anti-Austrian and pro-Serbian sentiments. Interestingly, the Austrian authorities allowed the paper to exist on the condition that Kočić would not become editor. Subsequently, the paper was officially run by other Bosnian-Serb journalists, and Kočić was simply 'contributing' with some of his writings. However, in reality, the paper was fully designed after Kočić's ideas and ideologies, and even in the correspondence with contributors and writer Kočić was often mentioned as 'chief editor'.[66] From the very first issue, *Fatherland* attacked the Austrian and Hungarian hegemony in Bosnia and Hercegovina, provoking censors and politicians.

As expected, he soon came into troubles with the authorities and he was arrested in April, and again in October 1907. A report dated in October shows that the authorities did their best to prevent to take place all "Wühlereien" and "Hetzereien" and even "Terrorismus" of the subversive Kočić.[67] Hence, the financial support of *Fatherland* was

[65] Pismo Jovan Skerlića - Petru Kočiću u Banjoj Luci, 28/12/1906, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 157.
[66] Pismo Petra Kočića Jovanu Cvijiću u Beograd, 03/06/1907, in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 187.
[67] Dopis Zemaljske Vlade Sarajevo - Gradskom Kotarskom uredu u Banjoj Luci, 22/10/1907 in: Kruševac, *Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa*, 193. More about the arrest of

researched. According to Austrian sources, they received thousands of crowns from Serbia for printing and distribution. Apparently, in a letter of November 1907 the editors of *Fatherland* thanked the institute Slovenski Jug in Belgrade for financial support and explained they needed extra money also for the lawsuits against their jailed 'spiritus rector' Petar Kočić.[68]

The idea that all Bosnian-Serb activities in the Austrian and Hungarian lands received financial support from Belgrade, became an *idée fixe* for the Viennese secret services. Their paranoia was serious, and it formed a 'conspiracy dispositive'.[69] The Viennese service increasingly became convinced that Belgrade was preparing a war in Bosnia. In the years 1907 and 1908 the number of arrests and penalties for those Bosnian-Serb students who smuggled or transported inflammatory materials between Belgrade and Sarajevo increased rapidly. This feverish hunt for informants, agents, and other living links to Serbian nationalist circles in Belgrade would culminate in the annexation crisis of 1908, which put, at least temporarily, an end to Serbian aspiration in Bosnia.

Persons like Petar Kočić helped to create this image of a pan-Serbian agitation in the region. His persona rose up above many of his contemporary students and it was his network which made him, in the eyes of the local government, an instant danger to the fragile Bosnian society.

We can partly agree with the Austrian authorities: since Kočić was both challenged and financed by the Serbian nationalist circles, and the government, he had become dependent on the ideas which were developed in Belgrade. Thus, his routes from Belgrade and the Serbian student circles of Vienna, then via the Serbian komitadji and propagandists in the Ottoman provinces of Macedonia and Old Serbia,

---

Kočić in: HHSTA 75 – P.A. XIX Serbien – Liasse XI/3– Serbische Agitation in Bosnien - 88.

[68] Letter of editorial board of *Otadžbina* (BiH) to *Slovenski Jug* (Serbia), dated 23/11/1907 in: HHSTA 75 – P.A. XIX Serbien – Liasse XI/4– Serbische Agitation in Bosnien - 110 A/B. There is another letter addressed to Božo Marković, President of *Slovenski Jug*, under number 113.

[69] The "conspiracy dispositive", is coined by Beatrice de Graaf and Cornel Zwierlein, who consider the conspiracy a "function bearer and legitimizing tool in security issues". Beatrice de Graaf and Cornel Zwierlein, "Historicizing Security. Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive" *Historical Social Research*, 38, issue 1 (2013), 46 - 64.

and finally via Belgrade back to Sarajevo and Banja Luka, made him a living, and walking link between the Serbian government in Belgrade and the local Bosnian youth in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, and other towns.

Conclusions: Vienna

Because Sarajevo had no university, and because the local governors did not want to found one, the most talented students went abroad to study. The civilizing mission in Bosnia was instrumentalized in Austro-Hungarian educational policy. This civilizing mission, however, worked for the Bosnians in primary and secondary school, but those who graduated from high school would disappear from the radar of the Austro-Hungarian mission. Subsequently, some Bosnian Serb students were absorbing revolutionary European ideas in Vienna and Prague, and took inspiration from several emancipatory, mostly Slavic movements.

In order to counter this, the Austro-Hungarian government installed the Hochschulinstitut in Vienna. Bosnian students could be controlled and censored there. But this initiative had rather unwanted consequences: many Bosnian students in the Hochschulinstitut developed anti-Austrian feelings. Meanwhile, the local Bosnian confessional institutes supported the students in Vienna both financially and morally. Especially Prosvjeta, the Bosnian-Serb institute, put much effort in raising a new generation of proud, young, and conscious Serbs. Whilst the Hochschulinstitut in Vienna failed to mold the Bosnian students into docile Austro-Hungarian citizens, the Sarajevo-based Prosvjeta institute succeeded to create a generation of nationalists.

Repression of student activism did not work either. When a student was expelled from university in the Austrian part of the Monarchy, he (mostly ‘he’) could still continue studying at a university in the Hungarian part - and vice-versa. Since the student population of Prague and Vienna (both in the Austrian part) and Zagreb (in the Hungarian part) was closely interconnected, this repression only hastened the circulation of (revolutionary) ideas. The Croatian agitator Stjepan Radić, for example, who was expelled from university, went from Hungarian Zagreb to Austrian Prague, and so did many of his fellow Croatian activist students.

3.2 Prague - Realism and Pragmatism

Cultural route

For South Slavic students, the other important university of the Empire was the Charles University of Prague. A certain 'brotherhood' between Czechs and South Slavs was already articulated by Karel Havlicek in 1846, shortly before the year of revolutions.[70] In the aftermath of the Pan-Slav congress in Prague, most youth movements in Central Europe followed similar models and patterns and even used the same names for their organization (*Zora* (Dawn) was used often by all movements, just like the literary *Matica* (Mainstream) and the muscularly patriotic *Sokol* (Falcon) associations).[71] The already mentioned Viennese forums *Zora* and *Zvonimir* were, for example, also active in Prague.

The strongest connection between the Prague-circles and the Sarajevo students formed the Croat students. The cultural connection is best exemplified in the careers of the brothers Antun and Stjepan Radić. Both corresponded with important Croat leaders of that time, including the secular nationalist Ante Starčević and bishop Strossmayer, and, at the same time, they were active in the Central European South-Slavic circles, primarily in Prague.[72] Their activism was in the first place a strong reaction to the Hungarian rule in their home country, but it also had a very social undertone. The Radić-brothers were children of poor peasants.

The Slavonian-Croatian kingdom was part of the Transleithanian part of the Empire and governed by an authoritative *ban* (viceroy) called Khuen-Héderváry. Khuen's almost dictatorial rule and severe

[70] Suppan, "Bildungspolitische Emanzipation", 309; More about the collaboration between Germans, Czechs, Austrians and Slavs in Prague and Vienna in: Josef Koci, „Die Zusammenarbeit der Prager und Wiener Studenten während der Revolution von 1848" in: Plaschka and Mack, *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes* II, 214-224.
[71] About Central- and East-European *Matice*: Stanley Kimball, "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63 Nr. 4 (1973) 1-83: More about the *Sokol* in: Claire Elaine Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).
[72] Roumen Daskalov, "Agrarian Ideologies and Peasant Movements in the Balkans" in: Daskalov and Mishkova (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume II*, 281-354: 324.

persecutions made Stjepan Radić decide to fight Magyarization. He began organizing demonstrations against the Hungarians, distributing pamphlets and anti-Hungarian papers. Some of these demonstrations became increasingly violent, and so did the Austrian penalties. In 1893 Stjepan Radić was jailed for insulting ban Khuen (calling him a "hussar"), and in 1895, for burning a Hungarian flag during the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph to Zagreb. Because he had learned the Czech language in prison, he decided to leave for Prague where he met his future wife.

In Prague he became involved in the publication of *Hrvatsko Misao* (Croatian Thought), a youth periodical for Croatian and Serbian students in Prague. At Prague University he learned more about the rather international orientation of the Czech students, and how they often collaborated with progressive German students. This brought him new insights about the future of the Slavic people in the Southern Habsburg lands. He wrote in 1897 about the future mission of the Croatian youth:

> "Our nation has not one name, but it has one soul, one genuine consciousness, one sort of folklore and customs, in short: one thousand years old culture. […] But what is the name of this nation? Unfortunately this nation has two names, two historically justified names, but these two justified names are still different today in different places: Bosnians, Šokci, Slavonians, Dalmatians etc. Our first ideal is to give our national soul as soon as possible just these two justified names, Croatian and Serbian. Then, let Bosnia and Hercegovina be the place, where we will create a first real permanent national unity of the Croatian or Serbian nation, a breeding ground, from which we, Croatians and Serbians as one, will frustrate all our national enemies."[73]

Radić considered the 'Slavic' universities of Central Europe a better place to develop and create a South-Slavic youth movement and advised the readers of *Croatian Thought* to prefer the universities of Prague, Cracow, and Lvov, above Vienna, Graz, Innsbrück, and even Zagreb. He saw no future for the Slavic youth in these cities which were controlled

[73] NBS - Stjepan Radić, "Hrvatski Ideali", *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 1 (1897), 5-9:7.

and dominated by German and Hungarian speaking elites. "The doors remain closed for the Slavs, for the Croats, and even if these doors were open, their society is not for us."[74]

> "Among the Czech and Poles we will learn about realistic politics, masculine patriotism and a deeper understanding of the great European movements. In Russia we will find fresh and grand ideas in its delightful literature, their objective and rich critiques, and bold and unvarnished writings. […] And we will also go to Germany, France, and England and even to America and we will not fear to lose ourselves in the ocean of organizations in the world, feeling small in front of the above mentioned giants."[75]

The 'Czech connection' of Radić gave an impulse to all new sorts of collaborations between South Slavs and West Slavs. This example shows how personal relations, and networks, were of much greater importance than something like a fixed 'identity': Because Radić was moving his activities from Vienna to Prague, many Croatian students followed him. Especially the most radical students, who were closely watched by the Hungarian authorities, decided to free themselves and move to Prague. This Czech connection soon turned into a cultural route, from which ideas of Czech realism were transported to Croatia, and, further, to Bosnia.

Czech realism

Croatian Thought wrote enthusiastically about the university life of Prague, in contrast to the university life of Zagreb and Vienna:

> "Czech life, with all its sides and directions, gives a beautiful idea of the serious national life and the essential work in every field. There are political parties from conservatives and clericals to theoretical anarchists. They discuss all the literary traditions, including the most recent and especially those from Western Europe, like decadence and symbolism. Outstanding professors are working at the Czech

[74] NBS - "Abiturijentima" *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 7/8 (1897) 208-212: 211.
[75] NBS - Stjepan Radić, "Hrvatski Ideali", *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 1 (1897), 5-9: 8.

> universities, among them Masaryk, whose lectures leave a long lasting impression on those who have listened to it. "[76]

This young professor Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a Moravian scholar, was by that time already familiar with the South Slavic peoples: In 1891 he had attended a pan-Slav student meeting in Graz and he had expressed his critique about the Kállay-administration of Bosnia.[77] He was fluent in the Serbo-Croat language, and corresponded with local politicians, activists, and intellectuals. Besides a gifted scholar and a great speaker, he was also a 'broker', working in the in-between zone of the Austrian powers on one side and the opposing student associations on the other side. In both circles he was approached with much respect.

Masaryk's philosophy was a remarkable mixture of humanism, a strong belief in liberalism and democracy and a deeply felt love for national freedom. As a nationalist, he was an opponent of anti-Semitism and chauvinism, and supported the idea of a federal and democratic Central Europe.[78] At the core of his thinking was 'realism', a philosophy of national emancipation and enlightenment of the people. In his own words, he said:

> "Realism is an attempt to nationalize all science and philosophy: without falling short of scholarly exactitude, it seeks to bring science within the reach of all strata of the nation. Realism is a protest against the monopoly of learning; realism seeks to socialize scientific and philosophical knowledge."[79]

He told his students to think about the liberation of the nation in 'small steps', he stressed the importance of realism and pragmatism, and he strongly rejected the idea of a sudden (and/or violent) revolution –

---

[76] NBS - "Abiturijentima" *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 7/8 (1897) 208-212: 211.
[77] Karel Capek, *Talks with T.G. Masaryk* (North Haven: Catbird Press, 1995), 157.
[78] Josef Novak (ed.), *On Masaryk* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988); Robert Pynsent, *T.G. Masaryk: Volume 2: Thinker and Critic* (London: MacMillan, 1989); Antonie van den Beld, *Humanity: The Political and Social Philosophy of Thomas G. Masaryk* (Paris/The Hague: Mouton, 1975).
[79] Thomas Masaryk, "Česká otázka [1895] (Prague, 1969), 172, cited in: Hana Vojsine-Jechová, "Masaryk's Style in the Framework of Czech Realist Tendencies" in: Pynsent, *T.G. Masaryk: Volume 2,* 174-185: 175.

possibly keeping in mind the miserably failed revolutions of 1848.[80] A Croatian student in Vienna explained how he experienced the lectures of Masaryk:

> "The lectures of Masaryk really meant much to us … With an unordinary, missionary warmth and persuasiveness, he unfolded for us his realistic-pragmatic philosophical religion, his belief in the noble function of labor, and the optimism of enlightening one person, and, through one person, the collective. The great Masaryk felt intuitively, that the flame of revolution was growing in our hearts and brains; he felt that our revolutionary zeal only had the aim of change, or, radical change (…). He brought his lecture to the point to explain us that we need to strife for an internal, psychological education of ourselves, and that from our own psychological education will grow the revolution of all forms of life, all institutions and national-social relations. He told us, we need to free our spirit from the slavery of different prejudices and stereotypes, and that from our spiritual freedom and discipline must develop the formal, official national liberty."[81]

By that time there was an ongoing conflict between the so-called movements of the 'old' and 'young' Czechs, along lines of conservative and progressive attitudes towards nationality, collaboration with the Habsburgs, and cultural and literary creativity. Although the young Czechs were already waning towards the end of the 19th century, it was still an important topic to be discussed in *Croatian Thought*.[82]

Step-by-step work

Masaryk argued in favor of the new generation, who had a specific task in creating the future. With that powerful mission came important responsibilities. Following Masaryk's ideas, which were clearly the

[80] Rolf Theen, "Masaryk as an Interpreter of Russian Populism" in: Pynsent, *T.G. Masaryk: Volume* 2, 102-119: 111-112.
[81] Arhiv BiH, ZOP, 32.829/2. - Milan Banić, student from Rijeka, unpublished manuscript.
[82] NBS - Milan Heimrl, "Iz novije političke povjesti českoga naroda" *Hrvatska Misao* 1 Nr. 2 (1897) 59-62.

result of his critical research about Russian populists, the students should 'go to the people' and teach them about citizenship, democracy and the importance of a proper education.[83] The concept of this 'revolution' was modest, and characterized as the '*sitni rad*' (concrete or 'step-by-step' work). The Central-European audience of Masaryk, consisting of children from the middle class, was enthusiastic to learn about this mission. But, however, most of these students had rarely met anybody from the lower classes, nor peasants or poor people. This was different for the South Slavic students who went to Prague to hear Masaryk's teachings. They were often no elite, but came from a peasant or middle class background. They knew of the poor people's national ignorance Masaryk was speaking about. They were not the elite who declared solidarity with the people; they *were* the people. Therefore, Masaryk impressed especially the South Slavic student audience.

Probably one of the students in Masaryk's audience was Vladimir Gaćinović.[84] In the ideas of Masaryk he found the echoes of his own dilemmas: realism, the solidarity with the peasantry, the role of intellectuals in society, the modernization of culture, and its importance for the national movements. After Gaćinović had developed rather 'literary' ideals, writing critiques and literary reviews, he felt he had found a new home in the Central-European version of Russian populism: his new belief was in 'sitni rad', the step-by-step work of Tomáš Masaryk. During the First World War he wrote to Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary he had met in Paris:

> "Our honest and gullible peasants acquired a great need for knowledge, for them, an ancient world was revealed in a new form. The schoolboys, of which the majority had a peasant background, hastened to share their knowledge with the peasants. They organized courses and founded reading rooms or magazines. In the summer holidays the youth, both students from high schools and universities, organized scientific and propagandistic excursions. In villages and

[83] Theen, "Masaryk and Russian Populism", 107-108.

[84] There is no evidence he was indeed attending Masaryk's lectures, but since Gaćinović was often staying around in Vienna, and was influenced by Masaryk, and because the lectures of the Czech professor were real academic 'events' for the Vienna student population, it is likely he attended the lectures. See for some details about Gaćinović in Vienna: Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914, Volume I*, 477, footnote 33.

small towns of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, they held lectures about medicine, geography and political economy. Some groups gathered throughout the year materials for these lectures and spread them in newspapers and magazines, distributed among different sections of the population."[85]

The step-by-step work of Masaryk was indeed, just as Gaćinović had described it, put into practice in Bosnia. We can observe a remarkable circulation of ideas here: the Russian-inspired teachings of a Central-European professor were put into practice in Bosnia and described by a Bosnian-Serb writer in Paris to a revolutionary, who was familiar with the "going to the people" of the populist movement in Russia.[86]

A schoolboy in Tuzla wrote about the 'step-by-step work' in Bosnia: "Great is our task as students in these times, to teach the people about programs and projects. We live among the people and get closer to them. Our works, our efforts, we do not see them as big, but as small, and concrete." [87] The students went hiking in the mountains, like scouts of the mind. A friend of Gavrilo Princip wrote in a letter from 1911, with infectious enthusiasm: "... on Friday I go to the village. Beautiful! (...) The village is the only salvation. My lecture is ready. Spread the knowledge!"[88]

This "going to the people" failed in a similar way as it had happened in Russia, a few decades earlier. The Bosnian students were however much more organized. They did not end up on a soapbox

[85] Lav Trotski, *Sarajevski Atentat* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1989) 10.
[86] Tomas Masaryk had a very ambivalent relation to Russia. On one hand he believed that Russian autocracy and culture could never meet Central European systems and standards, but, on the other hand, he also was intrigued and in awe of Russian culture. In a letter dated at 08/07/1887 he wrote to the Croatian scholar Vatroslav Jagić about his trip to Russia: "Ich habe, um es kurz zu sagen, Land und Leute lieb gewonnen. Man fühlt, dass man in einem Lande ist, das eine Zukunft hat. Nun mag diese Zukunft längere Zeit nichts besonders schön sein, das ist möglich; aber es ist doch eine Zukunft, es wird eben geschehen und etwas Großes geschehen. Dort ist wenig Kleinliches; bei uns ist alles kleinlich. Ganz besonders wohltuend ist mir der Charakterzug der Menschen, dass sie nicht so viel lügen, wie wir. Wir Böhmen lügen viel und in verschiedenster Form". "Der Briefwechsel T.G. Masaryk - Vatroslav Jagić" *Wiener Slawistisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1970), 173-201: 189-190.
[87] 'Jedna zabileška o sitnom radu, nađen kod Božidara Tomića', in: Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna: Pisma i prilozi* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954) 364-365.
[88] Letter Mladen Stojanović from Prijedor, in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 87.

between the goats, haystacks and blooming lilacs, preaching democracy and liberalism. Most villages had a meeting place, for example the temperance society (*Pobratimstvo*), or, in contrast, a café, or a primary school. The different Bosnian-Serb and other associations, sometimes organized by teachers from Serbia proper, offered the schoolboys a place to spread their ideas and knowledge. A program of the "Croatian-Serb Nationalist Youth" from Tuzla in 1913, show that the students taught the peasants about "hygiene, childhood diseases, syphilis and alcoholism" but also about the "functioning of the Sabor (parliament)" and "History of Serbian Nation."[89] The peasants, the target audience, did not react in the way the students had hoped or wished. They stared at the shabbily dressed students from head to toe and went back to the order of their day; milking cows, threshing and so on. This was a great disillusion, because after all, the peasant was still the 'spirit of the nation' (according to Petar Kočić) or the living proof of the century's long tradition of hajduks opposing to foreign intruders (according to Vladimir Gaćinović). One of the students wrote: "We should not be mistaken, the peasant is not yet capable. He is in a state of moral and material slavery (…) he is like a besieged fortress, his atavistic rebelliousness must be awakened slowly."[90] Others simply gave up. Miloš Pjanić, one of the leading student figures of Sarajevo, wrote about his boredom there, in the Bosnian villages: "Without books, without friends, without people who understand me."[91]

Not only Vladimir Gaćinović was a supporter of Masaryk's peaceful message, also Bogdan Žerajić, who studied in Zagreb, wrote about the importance of "cultural work in the villages".[92] In a letter to Gaćinović he explained how he was convinced the youth would bring "sun in the cold society" and could fight "pessimism and narrow-mindedness".[93] But Masaryk's peacefulness was seriously challenged when Austro-Hungary annexed Bosnia in 1908 and the young Bosnians started to question the functionality of 'step-by-step work'. Both Žerajić and Gaćinović decided to apply for a military training camp in

[89] 'Predavanja koja su održana ili su projektovana u organizaciji "Srpsko-Hrvatske nacionalističke omladine" u Tuzli', in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 370-371.
[90] Jevtić, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 18.
[91] Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 213.
[92] Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 238.
[93] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 68.

neighboring Serbia, where they would be drilled into willing soldiers. For them, there was no place for "internal struggle" anymore. With Žerajić and Gaćinović, many young Bosnians asked themselves whether the 'step-by-step work' of Masaryk was applicable to the bold realities of the Balkans. Maslesa recalls how the young Bosnians later remembered how they debated about the incompatibility of "evolution and revolution".[94] The same Croat student who wrote so enthusiastically about the lectures he had attended at the University of Vienna wrote:

> "With his lectures Masaryk reached our minds rather than our soul … He impressed us with the beauty of his philosophy about how to elevate individuals and collectives, but our hearts went out for other, different means. We were searching for means how to crush the facades of our society, both in a moral and material sense".[95]

Borivoje Jevtić, another close associate of Gaćinović wrote: "Masaryk's realism, good for the northern country and its inhabitants at a much higher level of civilization, was not applicable to Bosnia, which had no corresponding culture and which for its own awakening needed the smell of blood more than the three R's."[96] Also Dimitrije Mitrinović got his doubts, criticizing Czech realism as a 'bastard doctrine': "Let us return to the methods of our male ancestors, with a preference for justice."[97]

Prague: realism and pragmatism

Prague was, even more than Vienna, a place where coalitions were made. Not so much the Serbian students of Vienna, but rather the Croatian students who went from Zagreb to Prague, were the living links with the Central European ideas. In this chapter I followed the routes of Stjepan Radić in order to reveal some of the cultural routes from southeastern European students to Prague, and back.

---

[94] Masleša, *Mlada Bosna*, 121.
[95] Arhiv BiH, ZOP, 32.829/2. - Milan Banić, student from Rijeka, unpublished manuscript.
[96] Borivoje Jevtić, "Sarajevski Atentat" *Politika* 28/06/1925, cited in: Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 238.
[97] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Za Jugoslaviju!" *Vihor* 1 Nr. 5 (1914) 81-83.

We can distinguish at least three influences from the student life in Prague. First, Thomas Masaryk's realism hit a tone with the southeastern European students, and particularly the Croats and Serbs. The best examples of this successful cultural transfer can be found in the Prague-based Croatian student paper *Croatian Thought*, in which, among others, Radić wrote his enthusiastic articles about the Czech national movement. So, in retrospective, Czech realism was transferred via Zagreb student circles to Sarajevo, and the whole of Bosnian intellectual infrastructures.

The second influence was the idea of 'evolution'. As an example of this, the step-by-step work was implemented in the Bosnian context. The slow evolution of the nation, and the 'nationalization' of science and knowledge, was partly inspired by the Russian nihilists who 'went to the people'. However, the Czech reinterpretation of this social work, really opened the eyes of the young national workers from Croatia and Bosnia. Even the radical young Bosnians Vladimir Gaćinović and Dimitrije Mitrinović believed in step-by-step work as the right means to elevate the people. The latter wrote:

> "Less caprice, more principle! This should be the motto of those who are able to do something to transform the swampy and senseless society into a different society, healthy, and vital. We need to work on the democratization of science and philosophy, because it is needed, and it is possible."[98]

These words were obviously inspired by Masaryk's realism, and the moderate and small work of the Czech young nationalist movement.

Third: In Prague, Czech and Polish acculturation also contributed to the spread of 'Austroslavism' in the southeastern European regions. Collaboration between Slavs from different corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became in vogue, just as the outings of Austroslavism, such as the nationalist gymnastics Sokol-movement. Interestingly, in these student papers, like *Croatian Thought*, the discourse was often about the very ethnic differences between Slavs and Germans: "The doors remain closed for the Slavs, for the Croats, and even if these doors

[98] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Demokratizacija nauke i filosofije" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne* II, 28-32: 32, originally published in *Bosanska Vila* 1908.

were open, their society is not for us."[99] It would be a mistake to understand Radić's pro-Serbian articles as an expression of Yugoslavism 'avant-la-lettre'. In that case one would be lured into the hindsight-bias: for many Croats the collaboration with the Serbs was a pragmatic choice in order to counter the Germanification and Magyarization of the Southern Slav lands. In this context, Austroslavism was for most young Croats, and sometimes Serb students in Prague, a much more convincing concept than integrative Yugoslavism.

After 1908 this friendly optimism of Czech Realism, step-by-step work and the moderate views of Austroslavism had to compete with the more aggressive propaganda from Belgrade. This all had to do with the annexation crisis, after Austro-Hungary had swallowed the former Ottoman provinces Bosnia and Hercegovina - much to Serbia's dismay.

3.3 Belgrade - The Anti-Austrian Alliance

Belgrade, Serbia's capital, had serious plans to become a regional metropolis. The nationalist circles of Belgrade had an expansionist vision about the collaboration of Croats and Serbs, and the future realization of a South-Slavic country. Serbia was supposedly the heart of this country, just as Piemonte had been the first province of a united Italy. The Bosnian-Serbs increasingly turned their attention to Belgrade in publications and writings. But it was not so much policy, either from Bosnian or from Serbian side, but rather the international event of the annexation crisis of 1908, which made Belgrade into the locus of the first structural and solid connection of 1) the Bosnian Serb students, 2) the Serbian nationalists, and 3) the paramilitary troops.[100]

The 1908 annexation-crisis

It was no secret Serbia wanted to annex Bosnia, and it never was. Many Serbian (or Bosnian-Serb) politicians and writers were explicitly clear

[99] NBS - "Abiturijentima" *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 7/8 (1897) 208-212: 211.
[100] A good in-depth article about the Serbian nationalist imbroglio is: John Paul Newman, "Civil and Military Relations in Serbia during 1903–1914." In: Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose (eds.) *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015), 114-128.

about that. Therefore, the Austrians took a hard line at the Berlin Congress. By annexing Bosnia, the Monarchy created a buffer between neighboring troublemakers Montenegro and Serbia, who had similar territorial ambitions. A Serbian takeover became more and more problematic as the Austrian colonial system consolidated, but propaganda still kept the dream alive. This propaganda is visible, for example, in the school textbooks. In the 1902 textbook for fourth grade's primary school pupils, a question "Which are the Serbian lands?" is answered with: "Our lands are Serbia, Montenegro, Old-Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Slavonia, Syrmia, Bacska, and the Banat."[101] The next question, "How is the situation in these lands?" is answered with: "Not even one-third of our people is liberated and unified. Our thirteen lands are part of different states. The liberation and unification of our people is thwarted by our enemies, who want to suppress our people."[102] The question whether Croats are also Serbs is answered with: "Austria wanted the two brotherly peoples to hate each other, so they could rule both – that is why they sowed hatred among them. Especially the catholic clergy played a major role in that."[103] Further, the textbook explains that all people living on the territory of the 'thirteen lands' were Serbs, whether they knew it or not: Macedonians were Serbs, and Muslims were Serbs converted to the Islamic faith, but "who kept our beautiful Serbian language and Serbian customs."[104]

Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, had no intends to give up Bosnia. The undefined constitutional status of the Austro-Hungarian 'administration' was a diplomatic error, but for many (outside Serbia), the status quo was more or less acceptable. Therefore the annexation of Bosnia Hercegovina in October 1908, and Austria's violation of international agreements still came as a shock, and the 'Concert of Europe' was unpleasantly surprised. Russia was astonished, and Serbia,

[101] HHSt-Archiv - *Zemljopis Srbije i srpskih zemalja za IV razred osnovne škole* (Belgrade: Izdanje izdavačke knjižare M. Živković, 1902), 90. Old-Serbia is Southern Serbia, including Kosovo (which was back then Turkish territory); Syrmia, Bacska and the Banat are Vojvodina (back then Austro-Hungarian territory (Transleithania)). Croatia, Istria and Dalmatia were part of Austro-Hungary (Transleithania).
[102] Ibidem, 94.
[103] Ibidem, 95.
[104] Ibidem.

for above mentioned reasons, irate. Even the greatest ally Germany was negative about the annexation and also in the Monarchy itself many anti-demonstrations took place (especially the *Grossdeutsche* and Austrian nationalists were afraid that the new Slavic province would give the *Vielvölkerstaat* a Slavic majority).[105] The fact that Bosnia was already a *de facto* province, was not a reason for the *Hofrat* to do whatever they liked. A new crisis began.

The news of the annexation caused a war-like atmosphere in Sarajevo. Riots broke out, and journalists were arrested. Even the loyal Croatian Daily (*Hrvatski Dnevnik*) was closely watched, while the Serbian nationalist paper the *Serbian Word* was forbidden to publish at all.[106] The almost completely censored issue of the 8th of October said:

> "Yesterday the official change is made in the constitutional position of Bosnia and Hercegovina. In the same statement is written that the people have the right to express themselves about the constitution and laws that will apply for the future. In the same statement, the civil freedoms are mentioned (…) But on that same day (…) the police was in front of our printing plant, whether to check we would not distribute our paper! And they are still there!"[107]

In reaction, the rival nationalist *Croatian Daily* took malicious pleasure in writing about the *Serbian Word*'s problems: "The newspaper fighting the monarchy and the dynasty has lost its reason for existence and therefore they are, since yesterday, not in print anymore."[108]

The city of Sarajevo celebrated the annexation with salute shots and festivities, which started after the fifth prayer, because of the Muslims' Ramadan.[109] The mayor proclaimed three free days for everybody and official delegations of all the confessional communities,

---

[105] The racist and nationalist reactions of the Viennese German press to the annexation of Bosnia are discussed in: Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 1996), 148.
[106] Arhiv BiH - "Okupacija BiH donijela je svim Hrvatima silno razočarenje" *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 07/10/1908.
[107] Arhiv BiH - "Našim pretplatnicima i prijateljima" *Srpska Riječ* (Sarajevo) 25/09/1908 (08/10/1908).
[108] Arhiv BiH - "Srpska Riječ" *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 10/10/1908.
[109] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 106-107.

including of the Serbian Orthodox community, left by train for Vienna to express their gratitude to the Emperor. However, besides the radical Serbs and Croats, most Muslims were also dissatisfied. In the last months of 1908 many Muslims eventually decided to leave for Anatolia or Northern Africa. The Muslim exodus after in the Bosnian crisis meant the definite end of the Ottoman province.[110]

The reaction in the press of Serbia proper was especially furious. For many years Serbs were preparing war against Austria. Why would this not be a good reason to start it? But in the crisis, the international community, including Russia and Italy, managed to hold back the Serbs. In 1909 the Serbian government reluctantly called back the army, accepting the status quo. But they were waiting for revenge.

Narodna Odbrana – the People's Defense

The annexation of Bosnia meant a turning point in the development of modern Serbian nationalism. Before, the Serbian nationalists were divided among radicals, liberals, pro-Europeans, pro-Slavs, autocrats, democrats, young idealists and cynical army officers. But in 1908 all these conflicting parties spoke as one voice against the occupation. Austro-Hungary united the quarreling Serbian groups, as they became the 'common enemy'. The Bosnian crisis ultimately marked the end of an era of 'Hroch-ian' peaceful artistic and cultural revival, and was the beginning of a new one. The question that was raised by the young Bosnians in their newspapers was also heard in more official, political circles: Will there be blood?[111]

The central organization of mobilization was Narodna Odbrana, the People's Defense. In 1908, The People's Defense was not an underground association, but stood in the middle of Serbian society. During the short time of its 'open' existence, between the annexation of Bosnia in October 1908 and the official Serbian acceptation of this annexation in March 1909, there was no question about the aims and

[110] Some scholars examined the Muslim exodus during the annexation crisis within the context of 'ethnic cleansing': Peter Mentzel, "'Ethnic Cleansing', Emigration and Identity: The Case of Habsburg Bosnia-Hercegovina" in: Steven Béla Várdy and T.Hunt Tooley (eds.), *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (New York: Boulder, 2003), 99-113.

[111] "Sitni rad ili krv?" in: Pero Slijepčević, "Mlada Bosna" in: Idem, *Napor Bosne*, 182-218: 191-197.

objectives: Serbia would fight Austria, on the territory of Bosnia. A few years later the situation of the People's Defense was described in pamphlet with a similar name as such: "The whole of Serbia was one great army: Old and young, man and woman, could only think about one thing: the fight, the revenge, for the unjust treatment of our people (…) everyone in all of our beautiful lands cried out: War against Austria! Long live our brethren who are still living in slavery!"[112]

Although the People's Defense was all of a sudden there, this did not mean it had no prehistory. In the years before the annexation agitators in Serbia were involved in smuggling anti-Austrian newspapers, pamphlets, and, additionally, bombs, guns and ammunition into Bosnia. The fact that in these years Serbs were fighting in the warzones of the Ottoman border region in the south, made it possible to transport combat units and arms from one front in the south to the west. There was a provisory infrastructure for it. The Austrians were aware of that, maybe too aware, since their records of espionage leave the impression of excessive paranoia. Today, Austrian archives keep boxes full of reports about arms smuggle, hidden boxes of dynamite, and the distribution of guns in poor, Serbian, and Bosnian villages. For example, In spring 1908 a Bulgarian informant sent a report to Sarajevo that he found Serbian guns in the villages Bobovo and Dubocica, and that in Prijepolje, close to the Bosnian border, five boxes of dynamite were found in the house of a Serbian teacher.[113] A teacher! Of course, this was useful material for the Austrian-Hungarian joint ministry of finance, who suspected many Serb intellectuals (among them teachers) to work for some Greater Serbian conspiracy. Therefore, the Austrians closely watched the newspapers, the newest weapon of that time. In May, in the same year, the Austrian police found a magazine called *National Struggle* ('Nacionalna Borba') featuring inflammatory articles calling upon the young generation in Bosnia to fight for Serbia. This was published some months before the annexation:

> "The *National Struggle*, as a bearer of the ideas of our national tasks, raises his voice in these hard times, for a new task, a violent task (…) And we believe strongly in the justification of our view and the victory

[112] Cited in: *Der Banjaluka-Prozeß*, 124.
[113] HHStA – 79.P.A.XIX Serbien – Liasse XII/3 – 29-G.

> of these ideas, and we ask everyone to include their friends, all the conscious youth, and invite them for the organization, to work, to fight."[114]

All this trafficking of suspicious nationalist material made the Austrian authorities hunt for networkers, and thus aiming to reveal the network of Serbian 'agitation'. In some way, this was a very 'Austrian' interpretation of the Serbian situation, since the Austrian had a much better organized network of informants and spies than the Serbs had. Their idea of a Serbian 'supernetwork' of nationalist radicals was rather an Austrian projection. In fact, the loose networks of Serbian spies and agents, combat leaders, nationalist journalists, pamphleteers and ordinary smugglers was a Gordian knot, and not even the Belgrade government could untie it. One treat lead directly to the war-zone of the Ottoman borders, where not any state, including the Ottoman, was capable to oversee the situation. In these regions Albanian tribes, Bulgarian paramilitary troops, Greek irregulars and Turkish brigands were fighting each other, and plundering villages in the region, killing citizens and destroying infrastructure by means of sabotage.

For 'mapping' the Serbian nationalist movement it makes sense to observe People's Defense in the form as it was in 1908. The organization was in the hands of both radical intellectuals, persons from the Serbian bureaucracy, high-ranked military officers and some politicians, not necessarily members of the government. The People's Defense coordinated and directed the paramilitary troops in the south and prepared common Serbian people for the coming war. This was done by means of smaller organizations and associations. These organizations were not all military in nature, but nevertheless had aspects of it. The *Sokol*, in this respect, is a good example. These organizations could be characterized as gymnastic clubs, and were to be found in every corner of Serbia, as well as in all the other 'Serbian lands', including Bosnia.[115] The Sokol

[114] *Nacionalna Borba – Organ Srpske Nacionalne Omladine* (april 1908, God. III, Broj 1.). Original newspaper and the reactions of the Austrian administration: HHStA – 79.P.A.XIX Serbien – Liasse XII/3, 28-G.

[115] In 1909 there were apparently 14 Serbian Sokol associations in Bosnia, including the biggest "Dusan Silni" was also active in Serbia proper. The 14 Sokols had altogether 40

was a concept from the Czech and Polish lands brought to the Balkans by students. The Sokols were supposed to 'train' the nation: doing gymnasticss was one part of it, but a lot of time was also devoted to marching, singing patriotic songs and male bonding. The glorification of the 'pure body' and the 'health of the nation' was part of the Sokol-ideology. The *schlampige* Austrians were especially afraid of these way-too-healthy Sokol-members in all the corners of the Bosnian and Serbian lands. According to the Austrian administration, the Sokols formed of the most dangerous elements of Serbian nationalism, since they were training in the middle of the Austro-Hungarian society. In a future war, they could attack the Empire from inside. This fear is illustrated by a report of the Austro-Hungarian *Verwaltung* in Bosnia, which is dated one month before the annexation:

> "Der Turnverein 'Srpski Sokol' welcher sich in Adjustierung und Abzeichen von den anderen Sokol Vereine unterscheidet, verfolgt vorwiegend groß serbischen Tendenzen nach den von Belgrad ausgegebene direktiven. Selbst in der kleinsten Ortschaften sollen Turnvereine gegründet werden und in Falle einer allgemeinen Bewegung über ein geeignetes Freiwilligen Korps verfügen zu können. Bei den alljährlich im Kloster Ravanica (Fruška Gora) wo die Gebeine Prinz Lazars aufbewahrt werden, stattfindenden national Feierlichkeiten veranstalteten die serbischen Sokol Vereine Schauführungen, bei denen 15-20.000 Serben und die Parteiführer aus Ungarn, Syrmien, Serbien und Mazedonien erscheinen. Durch solche Veranstaltungen antidynastisch gesinnte Lehrer wird die Entfremdung gegen Österreich geschützt."[116]

Another organization was the 'Pobratimstvo' (Temperance club).[117] These clubs could be found everywhere on the Serbian and Bosnian countryside. Apparently, the alcohol-problem was so serious that Bosnian society was in dire need for temperance. With temperance came, again, the glorification of the 'national health'. Whereas the Sokol-

local division. *Spomenica slavi desetgodisnjice Prosvjete* (Sarajevo: Prosvjeta, 1912) 75-77.

[116] HHStA –P.A.XIX 79. – Serbische Agitation in Bosnien – 43-B, Nr. 1786.

[117] *Spomenica slavi desetgodisnjice Prosvjete* (Sarajevo: Prosvjeta, 1912) 83-94.

associations were mainly aiming at students, intellectuals and youngsters, the Pobratimstvo was mostly for peasants. In the eyes of the Austrians, the Pobratimstvo seemed to prepare the 'people' for the coming war.[118] It is not sure whether this was officially the concept of these associations, but nevertheless, these were without doubt nationalistic clubs.

The Sokols and Pobratimstvo were nothing compared with the Komitadži, or Četnici.[119] For decades the region of Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania and Southern Serbia, as well as parts of today's Bulgaria, formed a zone of chaos and disorder. The Ottoman government, the Sublime Port, went from crisis to crisis, so there was not much attention and interest to keep law and order in the outer regions of the Empire. The warring sections in this region were constantly shifting their loyalty, so it would be hard to 'map' the battlefield. The Bulgarian komitadži fought the Serbian četnici, but often they allied with each other and fought together against similar Turkish, Greek, Vlach or Albanian troops. In Belgrade these komitadži were trained as commandos, as military elite-troops. But, as soon as they arrived in Southern Serbia, they could easily act like paramilitary troops, guerrillas, or - even more so - like gangs of bandits. The irregulars of the Serbian army were feared and glorified in the Serbian nationalist narrative, and many young students dreamed of becoming a Serbian irregular, fighting the eternal enemies (Turkey, and Austria). To a large extent, the People's Defense was in contact with the officers of the Serbian komitadži's, but they did not have complete control over them.

---

[118] Stephan L. S. von Sarkotić (ed.), *Der Banjaluka-Prozeß: Deutsche Übersetzung Nach Dem Kroatischen Originaltexte Nachgeprüft Vom Orientalischen Seminar in Berlin* (Berlin: Arbeitsausschuß Deutscher Verbände, 1933), 514-521. In the first anniversary yearbook of Prosvjeta the Austrian misunderstandings of the peaceful Pobratimstvo is discussed: *Spomenica slavi desetgodisnjice Prosvjete*, 83-84.

[119] The Serbian guerrilla was organized in small units: the *četa*. The word is derived from the verb *ćetovati*, which means something like 'guerrilla warfare'. *Četnici,* as a name for Serbian fighters has Become associated with the Serbian monarchist troops in the Second World War, who called themselves that way. In the partisan movies of the Yugoslav communist period, these četnici were depicted as the ultimate evil villains. Serbian nationalists modelled themselves during the civil war after the antagonistists in the partisan movies. In communist times, usually the pre-war Serbian četnici were called komitadži (after komitet). However, also in the times before the First World War, both the names četnici and komitadži were used interchangeable.

Bosnian students and the People's Defense

When in 1908 Vladimir Gaćinović and Bogdan Žerajić went to Serbia to volunteer for the army, they first went to the People's Defense, who sent them to Vranje in southern Serbia where they were trained in a komitadži-camp. They spent there at least some months. The interesting switch from would-be intellectual to combatant was not only typical for the transformation of Serbian nationalism in that time, but also a defining turning point in the development of the young Bosnians. In Vranje, the ideas of national solidarity, democracy, realism and literary modernism mixed with iron doctrines of power, discipline and violence. There is not much source material about the days of Gaćinović and Žerajić in Vranje. This is understandable: these camps were in the middle of nowhere, and there was no decent registration and administration there.

As the Serbian government revoked the armies in 1909, there was no reason left to stay any longer, so both Gaćinović and Žerajić returned to the Empire, respectively to Sarajevo and Zagreb. Nevertheless, it is very plausible that, in these days, the two young Bosnians met the legendary Serbian komitadži-leader Voja Tankosić. There were many legendary anecdotes about Tankosić, always evolving around his cruelty, ruthlessness and brutality. Apparently he once made komitadži jump from a dangerously high bridge, just to verify whether they would follow his orders. Further, he seemed to like to shoot cigarette-packets from the heads of his juniors, like a bored Wilhelm Tell.[120] There is even the implausible, but amusing urban legend that the young soldier Tankosić in 1902 had beaten up the young journalist Winston Churchill in the Belgrade restaurant *The Greek Princess* ('Grčka Kraljica'), since the latter had written anti-Serbian articles.[121] This anecdote, however, is obviously constructed afterwards, in times when English and Serbian relations were deteriorating.

In 1909, for reasons of international diplomacy, the People's Defense had to be dissolved. What happened after March 1909 is again a point of discussion. According to Serbian sources, the People's Defense

[120] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 244.
[121] Sven Peeters and Jelica Novaković, *Wat kwam er uit een schot?* (Antwerp: Vrijdag, 2015), 104-105.

was transformed into a cultural association, very similar to Prosvjeta in Bosnia, distributing stipends for students and organizing non-political and cultural events for the education of the people. Literally, the People's Defense put itself to the task to "prepare the people for the struggle in all different aspects of the national work, and in the context of current times."[122] The Austrian sources, on the other hand, often state that this 'cultural' People's Defense became a cover-up of a terrorist organization who remained highly militant and radical.[123] The truth, as is often the case, is somewhere in the middle. From the outside, People's Defense, transformed indeed into a cultural association. They did provide stipends and they did organize cultural events. But, at the same time, the organization still actively spread anti-Austrian sentiments. The so-called "channels" (*kanale*) were still there from the time of the Bosnian crisis, so the People's Defense kept the network of couriers, representatives and smugglers intact. It could be of some use in the future.

Serbian state and the Black Hand

The figure of Voja Tankosić is of crucial historical importance. In court, in 1915, the convicted youth around assassin Gavrilo Princip came to know that he had died in the First World War. In the trial records we can read that the news reached them as a shock.[124] It seemed that their hero, their patron had died. There, on the battlefield of 1915 Tankosić 's career ended. It had started in a not much less bloody event. In 1903, Alexander, the last king of the Obrenović-dynasty, was slaughtered in the palace by a group of army officers. Voja Tankosić participated in this *coup d'etat* as a young, promising officer. The story of the bloodbath in the Belgrade palace has been told many times.[125] The assassination of the King (and the Queen) in 1903 was a turning point in Serbia's political history. Because the king had no offspring, the assassination left a power vacuum. Many other Balkan nations, like the Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians and Albanians, had picked more or less randomly a German king from the

[122] NBS - "Narodna Odbrana", *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr. 2 (1912), 13.
[123] Sarkotić ed., *Der Banjaluka-Prozeß*, from page 81 onwards.
[124] Saslušanje Veljka Čubrilovića (14/10/1914) in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 159, 417.
[125] Think of the notorious chapter 1 (*Serbian Ghosts*) in: Christopher Clark, *Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to War in 1914* (London: Penguin Books, 2014).

Gotha Almanach. Serbia, nevertheless, had a second indigenous dynasty: the *Karađorđevići*, grandchildren of the legendary rebel. And so it was decided; Petar Karađorđević was invited to return from exile in Switzerland and accepted the crown.

The new king owed his crown to a group of army officers who had assassinated another king because of his performance. This brought obligations. One of these officers was Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević, better known by his nickname Apis. Apis had joined the komitet in 1904 and became involved in the guerrilla fight in Macedonia. The komitet was put directly under the authority of the Serbian army in Belgrade, so Apis could influence both. When Serbia reluctantly accepted the Bosnian annexation and, consequently, the People's Defense was transformed into a more cultural organization, Apis went through a process of radicalization. In 1910 several newspapers in Europe wrote about the rumor that a new association was founded in Belgrade, bearing the ominous name 'Unification or Death'. In response Belgrade sent the following message to Vienna: "Recently there were some reports published about the existence of an alleged secret organization in the Serbian officer corps, which would carry the constraining name 'the Black Hand' and would have revolutionary goals. The Royal Serbian ambassador is authorized to state that all these messages are imaginative and malicious fabrications."[126]

That statement was not correct. On March 3, 1911, seven men, both working for the Serbian army and the komitet met in the Bosnian Street in Belgrade to found the above mentioned organization. Among them were Voja Tankosić and Apis. One of the two civilians in the Black Hand founding committee was the Serbian journalist Ljuba Jovanović, nicknamed "Čupa".[127] His biography shows some similarities with those of the Bosnian students: he grew up in a poor environment, made a career in the city, studied abroad (in Brussels), and subsequently became a leader in the student movement.[128] As an intellectual, in contrast with Apis and Tankosić, he was the writer of the Black Hand's pamphlets and manifestos. More than the other members, he was a supporter of a more

[126] Arhiv Srbije (AS). Ministarstvo Inostranih Delova: 365 – 781-787.
[127] Dušan Bataković, "Storm Over Serbia: The Rivalry between Civilian and Military Authorities (1911-1914)" *Balcanica*. (2013), 307-356: 324-32.
[128] Lav Trocki, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 12.

inclusive Yugoslav unification. Striving for new contacts in the region, he went walking through the mountainous Balkans, to Vojvodina and Bosnia, and even to Bulgaria to win souls for the South Slavic solidarity.[129] Jovanović also tried to connect with the student circles in Bosnia and Croatia, since he deemed the young intellectuals quite useful and important for the spreading of the ideas of the Black Hand. [130] Vladimir Gaćinović later would recall his meetings with Čupa in a sentimental mood:

> "He was sitting alone, stooped over the table…writing an article for tomorrow's issue of the paper… "We must sound the alarm bell, change our souls, and steel ourselves." I used to see him often at 7 PM when he left his office, submerged in his own thoughts like a mysterious shadow. When I think of Serbia, I always see over the Serbian horizon his apostolic figure."[131]

The name "Unification or Death" referred to the objectives and methods. First, all Serbs were to be unified in one country and, second, the members of the organization should give their lives, if needed, to that end. The emblem of the organization was a skull and bones, and an ampoule of poison. The founding papers show that Apis was 'only' member number 6, but since his power reach stretched from the army, the guerrilla, the royal family and the media, the other members soon saw as their strong leader. Although the organization was supposedly secret, soon almost everyone knew about the Black Hand. In 1911 the Black Hand started to publish a Greater-Serbian newspaper. This newspaper was *Pijemont*, named after the Italian region that played a key role in the unification of Italy. Their message was that Serbia could be perceived as the "Piedmont" of the South Slavs: A center, from where the unification would start. In the first issue of *Pijemont*, Čupa explains his, and possibly the Black Hand's visions about the future of the Serbian state and society. Among other statements, they include:

---

[129] Ibidem; Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 38-39.
[130] David MacKenzie, "Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa and the search for Yugoslav identity" *The International History Review* 1 (1979) 36-54.
[131] Vladimir Gaćinović, *Ogledi i Pisma* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1956), 86-87; translation of citation in: David MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians* (New York: Boulder, 1996), 121.

1) A new political organization must be founded, which is completely different than the already existing political organization. The political organization must engage itself more actively for the national cause.
2) The Serbian people must improve its health. This movement must fight alcohol and alcoholism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis.
3) A better education of the young generation, also in a national sense.
4) The army must be prepared for war
5) The foreign policy and diplomacy must be focused on the liberation and unification of the people. The people, in this context, are the Serbs and the Croats, who, as *Pijemont* states, are one nation with two names.
6) Since the Serbian society is in a deep spiritual crisis, more attention must be paid to the Christian basics of culture and society (interestingly, there is no specific reference to the Orthodox belief. Only "Christianity" is mentioned).
7) Many young, healthy children must be born. They will be "new Serbs".

As a conclusion, *Pijemont* states that there are two aims which were not debatable, and these were the *preparation of the youth*, and the *preparation of the army*.[132] Obviously, these two aims were related to each other.

Bosnian youth in Belgrade

Although the Bosnian Serbs did focus their attention on Belgrade, and wanted to be included in a greater Serbian state, the connections with the Serbian capital were rather loose. Much of it was plain propaganda: the textbooks, the greater Serbian agitation, the political influencing of Bosnian newspapers and student magazines. There were, for example, only few Bosnian-Serb students who went to Belgrade for studying.[133]

[132] NBS - *Pijemont*, 21/08/1911.
[133] Those students who went were often miserable. A health report of the local schools tells that the few students from Bosnia in Belgrade were forming a risk for the other students, because they lived in appalling conditions and, as a result of a poor diet, they were often sick, weak and spreading diseases: "The overview of the health status of the

Petar Kočić was in many ways an exception. Most of the students followed the routes of Central Europe: from Zagreb to Prague, or to Vienna. So the 'Serbian' feelings of the Bosnian Serbs was not necessarily based on a very close relation to the Belgrade circles. There is reason to believe the increasing flow of Bosnian students to Belgrade was part of a plan, designed by the Black Hand. The Bosnian students awaited a grand future, not in the university, but in the army. *Pijemont* wrote:

> "In the recent past the Serbian četniks have given wonderful examples and the name of the četnik is now widely respected. Thus we must now also include those who are dearest to us: our sober youngsters. However, for the realization of this idea we need many associates. For every 10 to 15 young četniks we need one loyal četnik - commander. Besides to our sober students and teaching staff, we appeal in the first place to our youngest army officers to guide these youngsters, so we will soon have tens of thousands of young prepared četniks, who will raise the honor and reputation of our homeland to dignified heights."[134]

After the annexation crisis more Bosnian youngsters moved to Belgrade for fighting, not for studying. Many volunteers for the četniks and, subsequently for the People's Defense came from Bosnia – Gaćinović and Žerajić have been mentioned already several times. Since People's Defense aimed at the conquest of Bosnia, it was logical that the society would attract the attention of the Bosnian Serbs, especially those living in Serbia proper. The leaders of the Black Hand were not from Bosnia, but there was a growing number of Bosnian members. In this respect the names of Milan Ciganović and Đuro Šarac must be mentioned. The first came from Bosansko Grahovo, in Bosnian Krajina, and the other from Sarajevo. Since they had been actively involved in the komitet it was no option to return to Bosnia anymore, because the Austrian police for sure

---

students of the First Gymnasium gives a sad picture of the physical development (…) a sunken chest, fatigue, lethargy, anemia, and emaciation." Zoran Avramović (red.), *Prva Beogradska Gimnazija „Moše Pijada" 1839-1989* (Belgrade: n.p., 1989) 140; AS B-379.156. *Godišnji Izveštaj Prve Beogradske Gimnazije 1909-1910* (Belgrade: n.p., 1910).

[134] NBS - *Pijemont*, 9/11/1911.

would arrest them. Since there was not much work to do after the Serbian government in 1909 had pulled back the armies, they hung around in the café's, close to Belgrade's railway station. In these smoky places, they boasted about their military efforts to the newly arrived, naïve young Bosnian boys, who were willing to learn about 'great deeds' and nationalist adventures. So, the 1908 crisis, and the students' migration from Sarajevo to Belgrade, had enhanced the clustering of Bosnian-Serb students and komitadži in Belgrade bars and *kafana's*. This was the 'first clustering' moment, when the circles of Bosnian students and Bosnians fighters merged in Belgrade with the circles of Serbian militant nationalists and conspiring army officers.

The Bosnian itinerants from Sarajevo were clustered in a shabby quarter of Belgrade, nearby the railway station and the market of the Green Wreath (Zeleni Venac). Even today this is a somewhat obscure, smelly part of the city. Interestingly, precisely this part of Belgrade is reminiscent of the *mahala* neighborhoods at the Sarajevo hills, since it has steep, narrow allies. Whoever who walks today's Balkan Street and takes the turn left into the Lomina street and heads towards the Green Wreath, will recognize a sense of old Sarajevan atmosphere. It was no less different around 1900. The street that runs through the steep district, from the Green Wreath to the bridge on the Sava, was called the Bosnian Street. A well-chosen name. In the vicinity of this street the Bosnian students frequented cafés with ominous names like *Sarajevo* or the *Little Soldier*. In café *Spring* and *Obilić* they played billiards.[135] In general, their activities all took place in the bars, as we can understand from the many memoirs of contemporaries.[136] One wrote later in his memoirs how he and the later assassins Gavrilo Princip and Trifko Grabež would go out to eat bean soup in a very cheap snackbar at the Sremska Street. If

[135] Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*, 54.

[136] The late philologist Predrag Palavestra, himself a Bosnian Serb, explained to me in a conversation in 2013 that back then most Bosnian Serbs in Belgrade lived as 'the Irish in London' (Predrag Palavestra's uncle Jovo Palavestra was Gavrilo Princip's roommate in Belgrade in the years 1912-1914). The most interesting memoirs of Young Bosnians in Belgrade around 1900 have recently been re-published in one book: Miloš Ković (ed.), *Gavrilo Princip: Dokumenti i sećanje* (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2014).

they had money they could afford soup with meat, in lean days they had to order the soup without meat.[137]

There was little contact with the Serbian students. Many of the Bosnian Serb students were 'private students', which meant that they did not attend classes and they studied their books at home (or, which is more plausible: in a café). Nedeljko Čabrinović, one of the conspirators in the assassination plot of 1914, told in court how he, as a Bosnian, had felt unwelcome in Belgrade: "They asked us constantly how it was in Bosnia, and when we would free ourselves... They made fun of us [...] in the press, with everyone I met, they asked me about Bosnia. How are you doing over there, they said, why don't you liberate yourselves? In other words; we were ridiculed."[138] Once, when king Petar came to visit the printing plant where Čabrinović was working, he was introduced to the Serbian monarch as "A Bosnian".[139]

Even when they had Greater nationalistic thoughts, many young Serbs did not feel personal affiliated with the 'seljaci' (peasants) from the Bosnian lands. They deemed them notorious troublemakers and scruffy tramps with violent, pathetic ideas. A Serbian young activist wrote to his Bosnian colleagues: "As long as I live, I will not forget the words of Jovan Skerlić: Keep me out of your conspiracies, I want to have nothing to do with it."[140]

Conclusions: Anti-Austrian alliance

First in Belgrade the three networks got interconnected: 1) the army-related nationalists in Belgrade, 2) the komitadži in Belgrade, and, 3), the Bosnian Serb students who came to Belgrade to volunteer for the army or the irregular troops.

The Bosnian Serbs lived in the margins of the Belgrade society, in other words, they were 'outsiders'. Especially this outsider status made them search and find each other to cluster, in the particular 'Bosnian' clubs, cafés and quarters close to the Green Wreath and the railway station. This clustering of the Bosnian Serb networks of students, fighters

[137] Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter. Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf* (Munich: L. Jevtić , 1976) 90.
[138] Saslušanje Nedjeljka Čabrinovića 12/10/1914, in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat,* 38.
[139] Ibidem, 39.
[140] Vasa Stajić, cited in: Parežanin, *Die Attentäter*, 66.

and propagandists took place in Belgrade not because of the perfectly organized nationalist circles, but rather because of the absence of that. It is no surprise that many of these vagabond students radicalized easily. They were vulnerable target for officers who promised them money and a heroic future as a Balkan fighter.

The young Bosnian vagabond tramp Nedeljko Čabrinović explained in court in 1914 how he was approached by the officers in Belgrade. After he was banned from Sarajevo because of sabotage in a printing plant, he lived for a while in Belgrade:

> "I did not have a constant job. I helped here and there, and worked sometimes as a paperboy. A telegram from Sarajevo told me my father had begged the police to allow me to return, and this was accepted, as I heard by some representatives from the typographer's scene. After I received that particular telegram I wanted to return, but I had no money for it. I told this to someone in a café and then he said I had to come along with him."

They went to the Acorn Wreath (Žirovni Venac) on the Green Wreath, where an officer gave him the money for the return trip to Sarajevo. The officer had taken a look in Čabrinović's bag and found a book of Guy de Maupassant and told him not to read this kind of books. He took the book and instead gave Čabrinović some Serbian epic poetry and a pamphlet of the People's Defense. When Čabrinović asked the officer how he could thank him, the latter replied that should be "a good Serb".[141]

The annexation crisis at first brought the three Serbian, respectively Bosnian-Serb circles together in an anti-Austrian alliance: students, soldiers (or guerrilleros) and intellectuals. But more so, the narrative conceptualization of this particular event brought a much more powerful image of an all persuasive and cohesive anti-Austrian front. Therefore, the first structural connection was made in Belgrade's city margins, in the dark corners of the Bosnian quarter close to the Green Wreath, but, more so, in the way how it was made into a story. Harrison White uses Tilly's explanation in his argument, which I quote: "[…] After the fact, participants in complex social transactions seal them with

[141] Saslušanje Nedjeljka Čabrinovića, 1210-1914, in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 30.

stories…Identities are social arrangements reinforced by socially constructed and continuously renegotiated stories….we can contextualize stories, which means placing crucial stories in their nonstory contexts and seeing what social work they do."[142]

3.4 Zagreb - The Anti-Hungarian Alliance

After the first structural connection in the annexation crisis of 1908, the second was in the political turmoil of Zagreb, during the years 1908-1914.[143] In Croatia there was growing dissatisfaction with the Austrian and especially Hungarian rule of the Croatian lands. As a result, many intellectuals, students, and activists began playing with the thought of collaboration, if not unification with neighboring Serbia.

The Hungarians

Since the Serbs and Croats both had very complicated ideas about the essence and identity of themselves and the others, it was not logical they would form an alliance. But, however, the Hungarians, as a 'common enemy' brought factions together. Ivo Kranjčević, the only Croat who was prosecuted along with Princip in 1914, explained this in court. When he was asked why he, as a Croat, had joined the Serbian conspiracy against the Austrian heir, he replied: "I realized that as long as the Serbs and Croats are fighting each other, the Hungarians can do what they want."[144]

---

[142] Charles Tilly, *Stories, Identities, and Political Change* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002) x-xiv, cited in: Harrison White, *Identity and Control: How Social Formations Emerge* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008 [1992]) 29.

[143] Several historians have countered the assumption that "Young Bosnia" was a *Serbian* nationalist organization with the argument that there were indeed many Serbs, but also Croatian and (Bosniak) Muslim students involved. Looking at the students affiliated with the idea of Young Bosnia, we can indeed count among them a number of Bosnian Croats and Muslims. Therefore, during socialist times, the movement was seen as a proto-Yugoslav movement. Dragomir Gajević, *Jugoslovenstvo između stvarnost i iluzija: Ideja jugoslovenstva u književnosti početkom XX vijeka* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1985) 177-198.

[144] Saslušanje Iva Kranjčevića 14-10-1914, in Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 189.

The issue of Magyarization can be explained with the case of the wanderings of the young student Stjepan Radić. Radić, who was mentioned before, was an opponent of Hungarians, and even more, of Magyarization. In 1888 he was arrested for shouting out against the Hungarian Ban Khuan-Hederváry, and in 1895 again, for burning the Hungarian flag on the main square of Zagreb – in front of the statue of Ban Josip Jelačić (who had fought the Hungarians in the 1848 wars). His conflicts with the Hungarian government brought him in different places: After he was banned from Zagreb University by the Hungarian authorities, he moved to Prague. When he was again banned from Prague University he continued his studies in Budapest, where he stayed only for a short time, since he could not bear to live in the "city of Arpád".[145] Afterwards he went to study in Moscow and Cracow, before returning to Prague. Because he was officially banned from all universities in the Austrian part of the Empire, and because he could not study in the Hungarian part of the Empire, he began learning French in Lausanne in Switzerland, in order to enroll at the University of Paris, where he finished his studies in 1899. After his stay in Paris he moved back to the region and lived in Semlin (Zemun) at the border of Serbia and Austria and Hungary. After 1900, he settled in Zagreb. By that time he was in contact with Czechs, Serbs, Poles, Frenchmen and Russians with whom he corresponded in all possible languages. After all his wanderings he became convinced that the Slavic movements of the Austro-Hungarian Empire needed to unite for reaching a common goal of a federative Central-European state with equal rights for all nations.[146] Although he therefore was a supporter of Serbian-Croatian collaboration, he did not believe in one Yugoslav nation. Radić thus considered it the best option to collaborate with the Serbs in order to keep the Magyar influence at bay. But it must be noted that he considered this foremost a pragmatic choice: there was no question about one, single Yugoslav identity. Naturally, Serbs and Croats could be 'brothers', or 'two branches of the same tree', but not: 'one nation'. This strong distinction between the

[145] Bogdan Križman, "Stjepan Radić: Život, misao, djelo" in: Idem (ed.), *Korespondencija Stjepana Radića 1885-1918* (Zagreb: Institut za Hrvatsku Povijest, 1972), 25-70: 28.
[146] Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization 1904-1928* (Toronto UP, 2000), 105.

notion of collaboration on one hand and integration on the other hand lies at the core of the Serb-Croat dichotomy.

In Zagreb, the city where Radić lived, much of the mutual animosity was felt. Serb and Croat bourgeoisie in Zagreb were criticizing each other in their respective newspapers. In 1902 Serb-Croat tensions reached a peak when the Croatian Serb Nikola Stojanović published his article "Croats and Serbs" in the radical Serb newspaper *Srbobran* (Defence of the Serb) in Zagreb.[147] The article denied Croatian identity, referring to fashionable racist philosophies, and said: "The Croats have no language, no shared customs, no coherent lifestyle, they have no feeling of interpersonal belonging, and therefore it can't be a separate nationality….Croats are thus neither a tribe nor a separate nationality".[148] In reaction, Croats in Zagreb went onto the streets to demonstrate against the Serbs. Shops were plundered, and passengers attacked. At first Radić was embittered about the article. He said that, much to his array, the Serbs wrote more negatively about the Croats than "the Germans about the Czech, and the Hungarians about the Slovaks." [149] But when the demonstrations turned violent, Radić defended the Serbs, and explained that the Croats should fight the one and only enemy: the Hungarians. This pro-Serbian and anti-Hungarian speech, again, gave the police enough reason to arrest Radić. He was sentenced to six months of imprisonment. In prison he wrote the article "Croats and Serbs", which was published in 1903 after his release, first in Prague and later in Zagreb. In this article he explained that the Croats and the Serbs should not strife for any Greater Croatia nor Greater Serbia, but, instead, unite and collaborate to fight foreign intruders, predominantly the Hungarians.

Croato-Serbian coalition

Decades after the Compromise it seemed that traditional Croatian parties were not capable to counter the Magyarization. In 1903, in reaction to this, the Croato-Serbian Coalition was founded. Their leader was Franjo Supilo, a charismatic Dalmatian. The Coalition aimed, among other things, at a common goal to fight the Magyarization, to integrate

[147] *Srbobran* 168/9 (VIII) 1902. Str. 4, cited in: Darko Gavrilović, *U vrtlogu nacionalizma* (Novi Sad: Stylos, 2007), 53.
[148] Ibidem.
[149] *Obzor*, 119./30 (VIII) 1902, str. 2, cited in: Gavrilović, *U vrtlogu nacionalizma*, 53.

Dalmatia into Croatia and to defend the rights of Serbs within the Empire. During the reign of Ban Reich, the successor of Ban Khuen-Hederváry, the Coalition became quite successful and in 1906 they even won the elections.

In correspondence between K. und K. governments of Bosnia and Croatia and diplomats in Belgrade, there is mentioning of measures for countering the inherently dangerous Croato-Serbian coalition. The fear, or the expectation, that this Coalition was financed from Belgrade became a paranoid Austro-Hungarian image. Hungarian politician Istvan Burián wrote in a report of 1907 about Serbian propaganda in Bosnia that the censors should now shift their attention from the Serbian journals in Southern Hungary (Vojvodina) to the ones in Croatia, and more specifically those in Zagreb:

> "Was die okkupierten Provinzen betrifft, so kann Neusatz (Ujvidék/Novi Sad – GvH) dort lange nicht so viel Schade anrichten, wie es Belgrad tut, und was Böses durch die Monarchie nach Bosnien kommt, wird durch die *Zastava* und den *Branik* (Serbian papers in Vojvodina – GvH), aber wohl noch giftiger durch den Agramer (Zagreb – GvH) *Srbobran* und den Ragusaner (Dubrovnik – GvH) *Dubrovnik* vermittelt. Das sind lauter von Belgrad erhaltene Blätter. "[150]

In 1907, after the Austrians had thought they had collected enough evidence, 53 members of the Coalition were arrested, and suspected of 'Greater Serbian irredentist agitation', which stood equal to high-treason. A crown witness, a certain Đorđe Nastić, had turned over confident papers to the Austrian authorities after he had spent time in the revolutionary circles of Belgrade. In 1908 the Austrians got hands on a letter that was written to a certain Lazar Bilbija, a relative of Gavrilo Princip from Grahovo, who wrote: "The indignation about - is immense. The committee has dictated his penalty. You know what the penalty is; it is how all traitors end."[151]

[150] HHStA P.A. XIX 75 – XI/ 1 – Serbische Propaganda in Bosnien – 02/10/1907.
[151] HHStA –P.A.XIX 79 – XII/3 – Serbische Agitation in Bosnien – 35 E – Letter 10/07/1908 Jovo Gasić to Lazar Bilbija.

The Austrian authorities demanded a similar end for the politicians in Zagreb: death, by hanging. At this point, Supilo was (still) spared, just as all the other Croatian members of the Coalition, since the 53 arrested members were all Serbs. The trial took place in Zagreb and received much attention in the local, regional, and international press. Czech professor Tomáš Masaryk was one of the speakers during the process. His emotional and eloquent defense of the Coalition probably has made the lawyers decide to let these suspects free.[152] But the affair did not end there. The Hungarian and Austrian politicians tried once more to pit the Croats and the Serbs against each other, and break the Coalition. In the same year the Austrian historian Heinrich Friedjung published a series of articles for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*, claiming that the Croato-Serbian coalition was, with financial aid from Belgrade, sabotaging the Empire from within.[153] This time also Supilo was arrested. But diplomats revealed that the Viennese historian had based his stories on falsified sources. In return, the Coalition charged Friedjung, which resulted in the Friedjung Process of 1909 that took place in Vienna, in the heart of the Empire. This process soon became an international affair, closely watched by the Great Powers.[154]

This process was a turning point for many students, not only in Zagreb, but also in Vienna. The falsifications, and the now obviously proven Austro-Hungarian attempts to break the reputation of the Coalition, made the student join hands in their national struggle. A Croatian student in Vienna wrote: "The Friedjungprocess fueled the fire of our nationalism, and our hatred against Austria received a new, extatic dimension (…) we, the nationalistic youth from the Croatian side, were convinced that the abyss between us and the Habsburg Monarchy could not be bridged anymore." He ended his journal with the words: "We shall take a bloody revenge."[155]

---

[152] Nationalbibliothek Österreich - *Der Agramer Hochverratsprozess und die Annexion von Bosnien und Hercegowina von Professor Dr. Th. G. Masaryk* (Vienna: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen, 1909);
[153] Čedomir Popov et. al. (ed.), *Istorija Srpkog Naroda VI* (Belgrade; 3d ed., 2000), 464-471; Friedrich Würthle, *Die Spur führt nach Belgrad*, 146 e.v.
[154] Zoran Bajin, "Miroslav Spalajkovic na Fridjungovom Procesu" *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 85 (2012), 89-112; Franz Graf, *Heinrich Friedjung und die südslawische Frage* – unpublished dissertation (Vienna, 1950).
[155] Arhiv BiH - Milan Banić, NS. 30-9-1928. God I. broj. 54. Strane 3.

Youth movements: Moderates and radicals

Unlike Sarajevo, Zagreb had a university, but it was a relatively new one. In 1874, a few years before the Compromise, the Habsburgs opened the doors of the Franz Joseph University, which was the continuation of older colleges and faculties existing since the 17th century.[156] Although it was a small university, having only three faculties, it gave a great impulse to the enlightenment of the Croatian, and all South-East European people. And once again, the university was the locus of protest.

Croatian historian Mirjana Gross dated the rise of the 'progressive youth' among the student population around the years 1897-1905, during the last years of the reign of Ban Khuen-Hederváry.[157] There were three features of the progressive youth in Zagreb and their ideology: Czech realism, anti-Magyarism, and generational awareness.

First, Czech Realism. Gross states that the Serbian student circles in Zagreb, and particularly the people around the student paper *Omladina* (Youth) had spread Masaryk's ideas in Zagreb.[158] However, large numbers of Croatian students who enrolled at the Charles University in Prague also played an important role in transferring Czech realism to Croatia.[159] Then, anti-Magyarism. It is plausible that the repressive regime of Khuen-Hederváry had to do with this. But, eventually, the most important aspect of the progressives was the growing generational awareness. The progressives criticized their 'fathers' for the failure of cultural and political autonomy. Their 'youthfulness' meant that they believed in the independence of their own generation, which also meant that they were against the Church. For many progressives, the Church and the clergy served the ideas of Rome, not of Croatia, and, after all, as they said, the time had come to forget the words of the bishop, and start to think for themselves.

---

[156] Jaroslav Šidak, "Opći pogled na tristogodišnji razvoj visokoškolske nastave u Zagrebu" in: Idem (ed.), *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1969), 17-20.
[157] Mirjana Gross, "Studentski Pokret 1875-1914" in: Jaroslav Šidak (ed.), *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1969),451-79: 451.
[158] Gross, "Studentski Pokret", 458.
[159] Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization*, 93.

The rise of the Progressives must be seen in the context of many regional and international events which took place in the same period. It started with the high treason trial against the Coalition in 1908, which was immediately followed by the Friedjung process in Vienna. In 1910, the first terrorist attack by Bogdan Žerajić had taken place.[160] Since Žerajić was a student of the University of Zagreb, his suicide was a shock for the student population in Croatia. In this unsettling period, the 'progressives' split into three: A more moderate, pragmatic group, still aiming at cultural and political changes, but within the Empire; they aligned with the Croato-Serb Coalition. Then there was a more radical group, who still believed in Masaryk's 'step-by-step' work, but also aimed at a more fundamental change of the constitutional position of the Croats in the Empire. And the emerging group were the revolutionaries, who simply wanted to destroy the Empire from within, and to make place for a South Slavic state. Surprisingly, among these 'revolutionaries' were many younger students; teenagers, who had not yet enrolled a University. The movement soon became quite popular among high school students in Sarajevo, in neighboring Bosnia. It is obvious these revolutionary progressives also connected with the radical students from Belgrade, since they shared very similar ideas. These 'Croatian and Serbian Progressives' expressed their ideas in the new student paper called *Val* ('Turn'), and three of its most active editors were Dalmatian high school students Oskar Tartaglia and Mateja Košćina, and Vladimir Čerina from Zagreb.[161] All these students were closely connected to the student movements of Belgrade, and the association of the Slavic South.[162]

Demonstrations: From Zagreb to Sarajevo

In 1911 the Croato-Serb Coalition won the elections in Croatia with a great majority. Vienna was far from satisfied, and therefore the

[160] Gross, "Studentski Pokret", 468-9.
[161] Oskar Tartaglia, "Naprednjaštvo i 'Naprednjaštvo'" *Val* 1 Nr. 3 (1912), 25-26; Matej Košćina, "Mi i Politika" *Val* 1 Nr. 4 (1912), 37-40; Vladimir Čerina, "Neofrankovci na Vidiku" *Val* 1 Nr. 4 (1912), 43-44; Gross, "Studentski Pokret", 470.
[162] In the inaugural issue of 1912 is written that the editors received 8 copies of Slovenski Jug from Belgrade. In addition, some of the editors of Val also wrote for Slovenski Jug. Oskar Tartaglia, as will be discussed in the next chapter, was a member of the Black Hand. See: Oskar Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik*: *Moje uspomene iz borbe protiv crno-žutog orla* (Zagreb-Split: C. Albrecht, 1928).

authoritarian and conservative Baron Slavko Cuvaj was sent to set things right. Another period of strict censorship began. When Cuvaj started his term in January 1912, he sent the entire Croatian Sabor home, and formulated sanctions against all Serbian-Croatian cooperation. Then he turned his attention to the student movements. Cuvaj's provocation had worked, because at once demonstrations were organized, and even strikes. Cuvaj ordered to put these down with violence, but it apparently did not help. It was a stick in the anthill: High school students in Split, Osijek, Susak and other Croatian cities went onto the streets. They sang Croatian folk songs, but also Serbian and Pan-Slavic songs.

Stories about violent encounters between students and police reached Sarajevo. In reaction, many of the Bosnian Catholic and/or Croatian students wanted to express their solidarity with their brethren in Croatia, and they organized their own demonstration. When this, in turn, became known in Zagreb, the students decided to travel to Sarajevo to join. One of the students who travelled from Zagreb to Sarajevo for joining the local demonstration was the rebel Luka Jukić, about whom some said that he was "not quite normal".[163] Jukić was indeed a wild ex-student, rebel, troublemaker and alcoholic. He was notorious for shouting and swearing on the streets, just to provoke the police so they could arrest him. One year after the Sarajevo demonstration he would follow in the footsteps of Žerajić and make an assassination attempt on Ban Cuvaj.

On the 18th of February 18 the students gathered in Sarajevo in front of the Catholic cathedral. It started as a demonstration against Ban Cuvaj, but because the viceroy did not have a function in Bosnia proper, the manifestation soon turned into an expression of a mixture of solidarity, frustration and a variety of other national and social sentiments. According to some sources, even the socialist workers joined the demonstration.[164] The students involved were Croats, both followers of Starčević and the Clericals, but others wanting to join were welcome. The young Gavrilo Princip, for example, also attended this demonstration.[165]

---

[163] I. Kecmanović, 'Jedna borbena omladinska organizacija', *Pregled* 33 (1958) 245-257, cited in: Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 340; Vojislav Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat. Pisma i saopštenje* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965) 91.
[164] Pismo Laloslava Klofača, đaka učiteljske škole u Sarajevu, upućeno porodici u Vranovu – Morava' (07/03/1912), in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 123-125.
[165] Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*, 45.

Luka Jukić burned a Hungarian flag, and the students in the square sang Slavic songs like "Hej Slaveni", expressing their anger about the Germanization and Magyarization. One of the students wrote later, in a letter, the following possibly exaggerated story:

> "When we stormed the Hungarian bank, the police came with two squadrons Hungarian hussars, but they could not attack because the socialist workers were behind us. (...) When we passed the smashed windows of the provincial government, two battalions of Hungarian soldiers appeared, alongside policemen and hussars (…)"[166]

We must be aware that the student's depiction might be a bit too colorful, since the local governor Potiorek wrote in a completely different style about the events: "During this demonstration not one Hungarian is hurt, and the idea that Hungarian symbols have been repeatedly spit on and offended, is a tendentious and biased description of the facts. It is true that some immature boys during the demonstration of the 18th of February went to the Hungarian school and have smashed some windows, but there was no question about a siege of the school." Potiorek also wrote that there was "no anarchy" and that the police simply could end the demonstration.[167]

The truth about what happened might be a compromise between the two depictions. Because quite some students were hurt. The Croatian Muslim Salih Šahinagić was seriously injured and had to be brought to the hospital. On the day after the demonstrators gathered at the hospital to express their solidarity with the wounded Šahinagić. The group of demonstrators had grown considerably, because young Muslims had joined too, out of respect for their fellow Muslim. A source tells that Gavrilo Princip's suit was torn by police sabers, so perhaps he also must have spent some time in the hospital.[168] Šahinagić died a few weeks later, on the 10th of March. In reaction to the death of Šahinagić, students in Croatia and Vienna called upon a school strike. The initiative was answered by student circles in many other major south Slavic cities of the Monarchy.

---

[166] Ibidem.
[167] Arhiv BiH – ZOP 37.925 - Report of Governor Potiorek to the *Hofrat* 13/04/1912.
[168] Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*, 45.

After these February demonstrations, the gymnasium in Sarajevo removed its radical students. Those who were removed or arrested were celebrated as heroes. Because of all this, the Serbian periodical *Zora* was moved from Vienna to Prague and underwent a radical transformation from a Serbian into a "Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian" periodical. The rebel students were praised in the first Prague edition.[169] One of the images in this issue of *Zora* shows Luka Jukić as a prisoner of the Austrians, as an expression of his 'street credibility'. Some of his 'prison-poems' are included too.[170] Because of the enthusiasm for the joint actions of Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, and Slovenian students, the magazine re-invented itself as a Yugoslav paper, aiming at a reader's audience of all revolutionary anti-Austro-Hungarian students of the region.

From Zagreb to Belgrade

The 'Croatian and Serbian progressives', or, the 'revolutionaries' went on an excursion to Belgrade on April 18th of 1912, to strengthen the ties with 'free' Serbia. Because the Croats in Croatia felt oppressed by the Hungarians and Bosnians ditto by Austrians and Hungarians, independent Serbia seemed to be a place for inspiration. The students of the Zagreb University found the Serbian mix of literature, nationalism and crypto-guerrilla - as it was disseminated by *Pijemont* - very interesting. The Black Hand's newspaper eagerly printed pamphlets and manifestos whose main purpose was to mobilize the youth of the "occupied territories" for the battle that was to lead to the establishment of an independent, large national and Yugoslav state.

This excursion was not insignificant: at least one hundred and fifty pupils and students, as well as some university lecturers left for Belgrade.[171] When they crossed the Austrian-Serbian border they came into an exalted mood, which did not change for the next eight days. They were greeted in Belgrade with music and cheers, before they marched

[169] Fedor Gradišnak, 'Jugoslavensko Vrpašanje in Slovenska Mladina', *Zora* 3 (1912, Br. 6-7-8) 362.
[170] Luka Jukić, "Pesme" *Zora* 3 Nr. 6-7-8 (1912), 246-247.
[171] Austrian documents speak of 176 students. Friedrich Funder, "Weltgerichte – Ein Weltgericht", 03/07/1954. KA – B964 – Nachlass Friedrich Würthle – 242. In her article about the University Mirjana Gross speaks of 163: Gross, "Studentski Pokret", 472.

through town passing the Palace, hailing the Serbian king.[172] At Belgrade University they were greeted by Professor Jovan Skerlić, the Maecenas of Gaćinović and Mitrinović. He stressed the importance of the Serbian and Croatian literature, and spoke out his wish there would be more literary exchanges and cooperation. One contemporary described the atmosphere in a somewhat exaggerated tone: "In the city Smederovo the Croatian guests danced the *kolo* (a traditional circle dance) with the locals, throughout the whole city."[173] One of the students of Belgrade University was Tin (Augustin) Ujević, who had been banned from Zagreb University after the February demonstrations. He held a speech to the guests, saying that "the entire Serbian army is behind the Croatian students".[174] Later he wrote in a magazine from Rijeka: "Who wants to breathe, he goes to Belgrade. Who wants to see how moral strength and sacrifice elevates the people ... he goes there. [...] Belgrade is our home, just like Croatia, here in Belgrade our youth should get to know each other".[175] Tin Ujević combined several ideas and visions from his Croatian and Serbian inspirations in the radical pamphlet "Croatia in the Struggle for Freedom", which was printed and published in Belgrade, and began to circulate in students circles in the whole region.

The guests from Zagreb also visited the barracks of the Serbian army, where they were again welcomed with a banquet. Apis himself spoke to the pupils and students. We can learn more about this particular banquet thanks to the memoirs of the Dalmatian student Oskar Tartaglia, who published his memoirs in 1927. He describes how he had a lively discussion with the Black Hand intellectual Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa in the restaurant of Hotel *Moskva*:

> "We drank Turkish coffee and Sinalcol, because they were all teetotalers. They constantly spoke out for revolutionary and terrorist action in the occupied provinces and stressed the importance of a collaborative action of all the Yugoslav organizations. We completely agreed. In the end they told me in confidence that such an organization

[172] Friedrich Funder, "Weltgerichte – Ein Weltgericht", 03/07/1954. KA – B964 – Nachlass Friedrich Würthle – 242.
[173] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 86; Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik*, 22.
[174] *Pijemont* (Belgrade) 18/03/1912, cited in: Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 338.
[175] Tin Ujević, 'Na beogradskom univerzitetu', *Riječki Novi List*, May 1912, cited in: Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter*, 73.

already existed and that I had left a good impression on them, that they were well informed, and they asked me whether I was willing to join."[176]

This organization was the Black Hand. Although it was strictly forbidden to reveal anything from the organization, Tartaglia described in 1927 how in 1912 he became a member of the Black Hand. He could do that, because, according to him, most of the Black Hand members were killed in the Balkan Wars or in the First World War, or executed in 1917 by the Serbian government. We cannot verify whether Tartaglia's very dramatic description of the initiation rituals are more or less true. His memoir is the only source that is left the initiation. But since the general atmosphere Tartaglia describes is quite comparable with the context of the Black Hand's imagery of death and skulls in their correspondence, it might be that there is an essence of truth in the Tartaglia memoir:

"We went into a dark room. Branko lit another candle and put it on the table, hidden under a black table cloth. On the table were lying a cross, a dagger and a pistol. Branko briefly explained what the purpose of the organization was and asked me if I was willing to join the organization and to pronounce the oath. When I said I was, the door to the adjoining room slowly opened and a man entered, dressed in a black robe with a hood over his head and a black mask covering his face. He was a member of the central board of the highly secret organization Unification or Death. The masked man entered the room and sat in silence in front of us. Branko reminded me to pronounce the oath: I, Oskar Tartaglia, becoming a member of Unification or Death, swear by the sun which is shining on me, by the earth which is feeding me, by God, by the blood of the ancestors, by my honor and my life, that from this moment until my death, I will carry out all orders and commands unconditionally. I swear by God, by honor and my life, that I shall take to the grave all secrets of this organization. May God and my comrades in this organization judge me, if intentionally or unintentionally, I break or fail to observe this oath of allegiance."[177]

[176] Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik*, 24.
[177] Ibidem, 24-25.

According to some, had the Black Hand around thousands of members; others say that the number of members could be counted on one hand.[178] There is no mentioning of Gavrilo Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović or any other assassin of 1914 on the members lists which have been found. However, the name of Vladimir Gaćinović is always on the list. According to a revisionist writer of the interwar period, all the assassins of 1914 were members.[179] The Austrian archivist Friedrich Würthle also thought that Gavrilo Princip was a member and must have pledged the oath of allegiance. His argument is that he thinks the officers left the names of Austrian citizens off the list, in order not to get them into trouble.[180]

In any case, the Black Hand was very mighty in the period between 1911 and 1912, but the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 changed that. The officers did not disappear from the political and military scene, but were operating less and less as a cohesive group. In 1913 Čupa was injured in the Second Balkan War and would die of cholera at the age of thirty-six.[181] Other Black Hand members also died on the battlefields of Macedonia and Bulgaria. Even Apis barely survived the wars, although he was not serving at the front. He had drunk unpasteurized goat milk during a maneuver in Albania and sustained a severe form of Maltese flu.[182] While Serbian armies together with the Montenegrins, Bulgarians and Greeks marched out against the Turks, Apis fought for his life in hospital beds in Serbia and Berlin.

Wave of terror

The meeting of Serbian army officers and Croatian students had considerable meaning for the future development of the Anti-Austrian

---

[178] See Dedijer, *Sarajevo* II, 86-87.
[179] Milos Bogitchewitch, *Le Proces de Salonique: Juin 1917* (Paris: Delpeuch, 1927) 56.
[180] Würthle, *Die Spur*, 201. Archives do no reveal something about the members of the Black Hand. Many archivists and historians consider it very likely the evidences have been destroyed or smuggled somewhere else in the interwar period. The only sources left are trial reports. See: David MacKenzie, *The 'Black Hand' on Trial: Salonika 1917* (New York: Boulder, 1995); Borivoje Nešković, *Istina o Solunskom procesu* (Beograd: Narodna Knjiga, 1953); Würthle, *Dokumente zur Sarajevoprozess: Ein Quellenbericht* (Vienna: Horn, 1978) 87-95.
[181] MacKenzie, "Ljuba-Jovanović", 53.
[182] MacKenzie, *Apis*, 94.

movement. This is evidenced by the fact that in the same year the labile Luka Jukić traveled to Serbia to get a gun from Apis. Earlier, after the demonstrations he had said to his comrades: "This pupils' movement is not sufficient, it is too innocent...we need to think of other measures…".[183] In Belgrade Voja Tankosić provided Jukić with the necessary resources during a joint meeting in the restaurant of Hotel *Moskva*. From the memoirs of a radical Croatian student in Belgrade we can learn how Voja Tankosić was indoctrinating young rebels coming to the Serbian capital:

> "Voja [Tankosić] wanted us to train in how to handle bombs and weapons; he gave us a written instruction for learning how to burn bridges and other facilities, and he wanted to send us to Niš for a practical training. This was prevented by Bogdan Radenković, who seriously warned us to beware of such instructions. Apis told me about Voja: avoid him, he's crazy, he thinks that Austria and Turkey are all the same, and he is anxious to declare war on them before we have dealt with Turkey."[184]

Jukić used the weapon on the 8th of June 1912 to assassinate the much-hated Croatian Ban Cuvaj in Zagreb. He shot at the coach in which Cuvaj was sitting. Jukić injured a clerk, shooting him in the back of his head (the man died two weeks later in hospital). Chased by the police, he shot one policeman dead. But Ban Cuvaj was unharmed. Jukić did not commit suicide, like Žerajić had done, and so the policemen could put him in handcuffs and arrest. He was sentenced to death penalty, but this was later changed into a lengthy imprisonment.[185]

The trial against Jukić and his helpers was a strikingly similar preparation to that which Princip and others would experience in 1914. Jukić succeeded Žerajić and Šahinović as a martyr of the radical youth. After Jukić's failed assassination attempt, the need to assassinate began to take on psychotic forms. On the 31th of October a law student called Ivan Planišćak shot at Ban Cuvaj when he was looking out of his window

[183] Cited in: Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 87.
[184] Letter Kresimir Kovačić to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstena*, 89-92.
[185] Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 266-272.

at the Zagreb square. Again the assault failed, but just like Bogdan Žerajić Planišćak put the gun to his head and killed himself. In the same month the American Croat Stjepan Dojčić took the boat to Europe with the idea to assassinate the ban. He followed Ban Cuvaj everywhere in Croatia and in Italy, but only in 1913 he shot: this time at the newly appointed Ivo Ban Skerletz. He injured the ban's hand. When he was asked by the judge why he thought it was just to kill a human, he replied:

> "It is just to kill a man in this situation. That is the general opinion in America and behind me five hundred thousand American Croats. I'm not the last one. We cannot make a revolution here, because the army consists of different nationalities. If the Czech mutiny, the Habsburgse send German soldiers against them. (...) In America there is full freedom in political affairs. Here in Croatia and Slovenia, we are deprived even of the right to live. Even in China today things are better. Our crippled autonomy has been taken away from us. Al public functions are taken by Hungarians, so we are obliged to emigrate to America. Now we have neither franchise nor the right to hold meetings. We have no freedom of the press."[186]

After the failed assassination attempt of Luka Jukić, the police arrested 150 students in Zagreb and 50 in the port city of Zadar. They were all interrogated and detained for long periods. These investigation revealed that there were several active radical organizations in Dalmatia, consisting of students who maintained contact with similar organizations in Prague, Zagreb, Belgrade and some Italian cities.[187] These discoveries caused great agitation. The Austro-Hungarian Empire stood face-to-face with an elusive enemy: An intangible network of radicalizing young people. When dismantling one 'terrorist cell', another appeared elsewhere. The only thing that the police could do was to block and cut off the connection to Belgrade. Because it was perfectly clear that these young people traveled back and forth to Serbia to arm themselves. Because Serbia was, after October 1912, at war with the Ottoman Empire, these Bosnian students often returned home with impressive images of war on their mind.

---

[186] *Pijemont* 27/09/1913, cited in: Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 274.
[187] Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik*, 57.

After Jukić's assault, Ljuba Jovanović Čupa asked one of the Croatian students in Belgrade to write some reportages from Zagreb for the Black Hand's *Pijemont*, stressing that there was no connection between the Belgrade circles and Jukić' armaments, and that the outrage had everything to do with the zest for freedom of the Croatian youth, and nothing with Belgrade or Greater Serbian aspirations.[188]

Long after these events, the resonance of Jukić's gunfire could be heard in Zagreb. In October 1912 students in the national theater shouted slogans against the government of Ban Cuvaj, and they glorified Jukić's assassination attempt. When they started singing Croatian folk songs they received acclaim received from various elderly people in the audience, after which the police rushed on the galleries, clearing the theater. But then the youngsters went from the theater onto the street to demonstrate and chant anti-Hungarian songs.[189] In the autumn and winter of 1913 the Ban then decided to solve the problem fundamentally: a strict ban was issued on student papers and organizations and those who gave the least sign of some rebellious ideas were arrested at once. Someone who wrote Serbian (Cyrillic) or was in contact with Serbs in Belgrade anyway was highly suspicious. And those who possessed pamphlets or brochures, could end up in jail.

Zagreb: The Anti-Austrian-Hungarian Coalition

There are three arguments why the key to the coalition making process of radical youth in the region was actually in the Croatian provinces. First, some young Croats of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Istria and other regions had a more inclusive, loose, fluid and flexible idea of national identity than the Serbs. As an illustration, I have pointed at the remarkable career of Stjepan Radić who, as a result of his international wanderings from Moscow to Paris, had a very layered and complicated, sometimes contradictive perception of Croatianhood. He believed that Serbs, Croats, but also Czechs and other Slavs in the Empire only could emancipate if they joined forces against the powerful Austrians and Hungarians. Although some groups in the Croatian lands favored a strongly

[188] Letter Kresimir Kovačić to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstena*, 89-92.
[189] Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 272.

primordial nationalist perception of Croatianhood (especially the Starčevići), others were flexible and cooperative.

Departing from this presumption, it is also more understandable that the idea of Croat-Serb unification really became in vogue during the years 1903-1914. Suppressive measures of the Hungarian authorities in Croatia had counterproductive results, and the growing discontent about the foreign rule made many Croatian students consider a possible future unification with neighboring Serbia. The High Treason process of 1908 against the Croato-Serbian Coalition and the subsequent Friedjung Process of 1909 further enhanced anti-Imperial feelings among Croatian nationalists. Some previous coalitions against Serbs thus rapidly changed into anti-Austrian, anti-Hungarian, and eventually anti-Imperial coalitions.

What contributed as well to new coalition making processes was the fact that those radical students who were banned from Zagreb University now continued their studies at the University of Belgrade, which was founded only a few years before. These students, among them Tin Ujević, soon integrated in the radical student circles of the Serbian capital, who were, in their turn, closely connected to the network of nationalist army officers and propagandists. This also explains how and why the Black Hand successfully recruited Croatian students, like Oskar Tartaglia and others. Belgrade became a safe haven for the wildest troublemakers, including Luka Jukić and others. In sum, *Pijemont*'s successful propaganda had hit a tone with the most radical students of Croatia who continued their studies in Belgrade.

3.5 Sarajevo - The First Revolutionary Program for a National Unification

The routes from Vienna, Prague, Zagreb, and Belgrade led to Sarajevo, where young nationalists were mobilized very late - in the years after 1912. Dimitrije Mitrinović had wandered through all these cities and synthesized his inspirations. His articulation of a 'national unification' and synthesis of Serbian and Croatian feelings of rebellion against the

Austrians and Hungarians would turn out to be the blueprint for protest mobilization in the region, and in Bosnia in particular.

In 1907, after his graduation of the Mostar gymnasium, he went to study in Zagreb. In the following years he developed himself into a connector between the student circles of Mostar, Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade. Probably his charisma has done a great deal: contemporaries describe him as an eccentric, sometimes even hypnotic leader. Many highschool students in Sarajevo saw him as a pioneer, not only because of his writings about the synthesis of Serbs and Croats, but much more because of his mysterious wanderings through the region.

Financial support

Mitrinović had many sponsors. Bogdan Žerajić wrote from Zagreb in a letter to Gaćinović and said: "Mito [Mitrinović] is here, he lives very well. He sometimes goes looting to Sarajevo, and comes back loaded, then he lives for some time, and again…"[190] Another source, a letter from the secretary of the People's Defense says that Mitrinović is "bombarding" him with "requests".[191] When Bogdan Žerajić made the assassination attempt in 1910, the Croatian governor received an anonymous accusation, saying: "He [Mitrinović] is the son of a poor teacher. He is very well known in Serbian circles. This man receives for about 600 crowns per month from Belgrade (…) He pays Croatian writers a fee for working for Serbian journals, etc. He often receives journals from Belgrade by express and recorded delivery (…) For a better elucidation of this assassination attempt it is necessary at once to carry out a search of the rooms of Mitrinović in Zagreb. We add that we have written this letter to you with the purpose of bringing to an end the conspiracies of the dangerous Mitrinović…"[192] The police, however, could not find anything incriminating and released him, but, to be sure, they kept his passport to prevent him at least for some months from further travelling.

---

[190] Letter Bogdan Žerajić (Zagreb) to Vladimir Gaćinović, 12/01/1910, in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 43-44:44.
[191] Milan Pribičević, cited in: Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 27.
[192] Vojislav Bogićević, "Atentat Bogdana Žerajića 1910. Godine" *Godisnjak Istorijskog Drustva Bosne I Hercegovine* 6 (Sarajevo 1954), 87-102, cited in: Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 23-24.

The financial situation of Mitrinović cannot be really surveyed, but we can try at least to reveal some of it. At first, he received money from Prosvjeta, the Serbian cultural institute of Sarajevo. Džaja found the receipts of 1380 crowns in total, provided to Mitrinović between 1908 and 1910.[193] Then, Mitrinović was apparently sponsored by the Belgrade ministry of culture, approximately 100 crowns per month.[194] The People's Defense also supported Mitrinović, and it is quite possible that he received financial support from the Belgrade literary association *Slovenski Jug* (Slavic South).[195] When he spent some months in 1907 in Belgrade, he kept warm contacts with the key figures of Slovenski Jug, including the literary patrons Jovan Skerlić and Božidar Marković.[196] Subsequently he must have received some money from the Bosnian and, very possible, from the Croatian administration, since he was deemed a successful student. Eventually, he was a very active publicist and he must for sure have earned some money for his publications in the more elaborate journals. In the end, he suggested fees for new contributors of Bosnian periodicals. From 1907 onwards, he was one of the editors of *Bosanska Vila*, so possibly he received fees as well from the sponsors of this journal.[197]

In short: Mitrinović was a rich student. Contemporaries often recall his wealth, as well as his generosity. He bought food for his poor fellow students and once gave his friend Vladimir Gaćinović a completely new suit.[198] These persons like Mitrinović were exactly the kind of persons Austria-Hungary was afraid of: propagandists, financed from Belgrade, who wandered freely between the university towns of Zagreb and Vienna. The biggest fear was that the activities of these kind of persons would spread to Sarajevo and Bosnia.

---

[193] Arhiv BiH - Prosvjeta-Arhiv, Dosije Stipendista 1902-1941, box 149, cited in: Džaja, op. cit., 177 (footnote 133).
[194] Bogićević, "Atentat Bogdana Žerajića", cited in: Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 20.
[195] Predrag Palavestra, „Predgovor", in: Dimitrije Mitrinović, *Sabrana Djela: Volume I* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1991), 9-153: 27-28; Pero Slijepčević mentions particularly Mitrinovic's when he speaks of 'connections to Belgrade': Letter of Pero Slijepčević to Vojislav Bogićević in: Vojislav Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstenja* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965), 23.
[196] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 15.
[197] See: Dejan Djuričković, *Bosanska Vila*, 219.
[198] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 21.

Synthesis

Mitrinović enrolled at the Philosophical Faculty in Zagreb, where he studied philosophy, psychology, and logic.[199] Soon afterwards he was frequently seen in Vienna, where he was involved in south Slavic underground societies. The connection with Belgrade was established in 1907, shortly before he went to study in Zagreb. The Slovenski Jug association gave him opportunities many other students did not have. Soon he became the chairman of the Serbian students' movement in Zagreb, called "*Njegoš*".[200] Mitrinović's view on the 'South Slavic Question', in regard to the collaboration between Serbs and Croats has been an issue of debate. "Synthesis" was a red thread in Mitrinović's thinking, up into the 1950s, so it would be logical to see his Yugoslavism as a synthesis of the Serb nationalism he had acquired in Belgrade, and the Croat nationalism he knew from Zagreb. Looking at the publications of the years prior to Žerajić's first assassination attempt in 1910, we derive some aspects of Mitrinović's visions on nationalism and modernity.

His first personal motif was modernism, in art, and as a philosophy. In his article "The National Ground and Modernity", published in *Bosanska Vila*, he stressed the importance of individuality in contrast to nationality, and he underlined the meaningful language of art: "The nation is not only a collection, an aggregate of individuals, but it is also an organism being a part of a much greater collection of organisms, which is called humanity. An individual is not only a member of a nation, but a member of the human race too."[201] In this same article he rejected the strong emphasis on Serbian identity in writing about art and literature. This more humanistic perspective on the South Slavic idea was possibly inspired by the many books he had read already back home in Mostar, but also in the many libraries he could attend in Belgrade and Vienna. It is likely that his world-wise view on the local affairs were made possible just because he could travel further, meet more people, and

[199] Ibidem, 17.
[200] Mirjana Gross, "Studentski pokret 1875-1914" in: Jaroslav Šidak, *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1969), 451-479: 473.
[201] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Nacionalni tlo i modernost" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 41-49: 43, originally published in *Bosanska Vila* 1908.

read more books. His financial situation gave him access to scarce intellectual resources.

In 1909 he was one of the founders of *Zora*, the new progressive literary journal of Serbs in Vienna. In his first article for the journal, he wrote that the

> "…Serbian people must be *culturally elevated* [my emphasis], in a solid and modern way, and that the Serbian national worker, and particularly, and unconditionally, the Serbian student must become completely, completely, and completely cultural. And modern. And in the Serbian culture, and not those of Vienna or Budapest."[202]

According to Palavestra, Mitrinović was keeping the publishing, printing and distribution of *Zora* in his hands, since he constantly moved back and forth between Zagreb, Vienna and Belgrade, and could use his network for the distribution.[203] Under guidance of Mitrinović, *Zora* developed into a journal rather fostering cultural and individual development, than national struggle.

Petrified Yugoslavism

The second personal motif of Mitrinović's writings was a vaguely defined, but intensely experienced Serbian-Croatian synthesis. The turning point in the development of Mitrinović's South Slavic idealism was in 1911, during the International Art Exhibition in Rome. The Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović was supposed to present his work in the Austro-Hungarian pavilion, but refused to do so when there was no specific South-Slavic corner to share with his Croatian and Serbian colleagues from the Habsburg lands.[204] Then he arranged to exhibit his sculptures in the Serbian pavilion, together with some of his Croatian colleagues. This in itself was already a shock for the Austro-Hungarian art elite, since Meštrović was a respected artist in the Viennese art scenes, but what shocked the audience even more was the character of Meštrović's work. The collection he exposed in Rome consisted of

[202] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Pred Radom" *Zora* 1 Nr. 1 (1910) 7-9.
[203] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 22-23.
[204] Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism" *Slavic Review* 73 no. 4 (2014), 828-858: 839.

sculptures of heroic figures inspired by Serbian epic poetry about the medieval battle of Kosovo. The myth of the battle of Kosovo was at that time one of the strongest pillars of Serbian nationalism.[205] It goes without saying that it was rather provocative that these Kosovo-sculptures were exhibited in the Serbian pavilion by a Croatian artist from Vienna. The sculptures were innovative and Meštrović proved to be a great disciple of Rodin, but in most of the articles in newspapers the work was discussed within the framework of international politics.

In the years 1910-1912 Mitrinović wrote about Meštrović's work in more than ten articles for Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian journals. If Meštrović was a respected artist in the South Slavic lands, it was Mitrinović who made him into a hero for the younger generation. The many articles show how Mitrinović was deeply enchanted by Meštrović's work. It seemed the images gave him the words to express the Serbian-Croatian synthesis he had had in mind for already some years.

As a student in Zagreb, he realized he had a role informing Belgrade audiences about Meštrović's work. When, subsequently, an exhibition in Zagreb was criticized by both the Croatian and Serbian press, he made clear in the *Serbian Literary Herald* that Meštrović's sculptures were like pearls before the swines: "This exhibition had much more artistic meaning than what Zagreb's journalists and the Zagreb audience made out of it, and the Serbian journalists only mentioned the exhibition; they did not even recommend it to their own specific reading audience."[206] According to Mitrinović, the Kosovo-cyclus was not only great in artistic value, but had a strong national meaning. His acrobatic use of the definitions of Serbs, Croats, Serbo-Croats, and – mostly – "us" is interesting to note: "In the Serbian pavilion … they presented the works

[205] Much has been written about the nationalistic instrumentalisation of the Kosovo myth. Two relatively insightful studies are: Christos Mylonas, *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), 147-168; Branimir Anzulovic, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (New York: New York UP, 1999).

[206] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Izložba Hrvatskog Umjetničkog Društva "Medulić" u Zagrebu" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 163-169:164. Originally published in *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, 26 (1911), 68-75.

of a few of our Serbian and Croatian artists, Serbian or Croatian, "ours" in the broadest and most beautiful sense of the word..."[207]

Mitrinović was in Rome himself, where he shared the hotel room with Meštrović.[208] Back home he wrote all these reviews and critiques, in which he attacked those artists lacking a national 'spirit' or 'strength'. About some Serbian artists in the Rome exhibition he wrote: "It is mediocre, it is very mediocre, the painting... it is not only mediocre, but actually very ugly, some terrible details in particular..." or "But how ... one could paint such an ugly mouth and such stupid smiling figures?"[209] Moreover, in the eyes of Mitrinović, it was the greatest error that, while Croatian artists exhibited in the Serbian pavilion, there were still Serbian artists who presented their works in the Austro-Hungarian pavilion. One of them was the acclaimed Serbian painter Paja Jovanović (the "Serbian Rembrandt", according to some) about which Mitrinović wrote: "Why was it not possible to thwart his unfortunate participation in the Austrian pavilion? That man has disqualified himself for the nation, forever, critically and decisively…"[210]

The quintessence of his art critique was his comment on Meštrović's work. In these critiques he hits an exalted tone, and becomes very agitated and sentimental.

> "I think it's understandable that the Croats do not understand Meštrović: they consider Meštrović an artist and not a prophet of liberation; they should be forgiven for being so unfortunate. But the Serbs should not be forgiven, not those who have not understood the importance of Meštrović, or those who have not understood him at all: the least should be forgiven those ignorant and harmful people who wanted to understand him wrongly and negatively, and who have

[207] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Srbi i Hrvati na međunarodnoj umjetničkoj izložbi u Rimu" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 170-184:170. Originally published in *Srpski Književni Glasnik* 26 (1911) 717-727.
[208] Rigby, op. cit., 17.
[209] Mitrinović, "Srbi i Hrvati", 181.
[210] Ibidem, 175.

understood our whole exhibition in Rome negatively, as if they are feeble-minded, ugly, without a sense of honor".[211]

Mitrinović argued that Meštrović's sculptures were the ultimate visualization of something deeper, stronger, and a very national feeling which could not be understood nor felt by "no German, no Frenchman, and no Italian. Someone who is not of our people has to ask all the time for a real interpretation of the details in order to be able to understand Meštrović. But we, his compatriots, do not have to ask about the meaning of his sculptures. We recognize our features in them, we feel their aching soul behind the plaster eyes and figures…our blood flows in the marble widows and stone heroes, and ours are the faces of these calm and agonizing caryatids…."[212]

The influence of Nietzsche is quite visible in the last paragraphs of his hagiographic article, as he states that Meštrović is a "poet of Strength". However, the strength of Meštrović is not necessarily the individual strength, as well a more cultural strength, still impersonated in the individual: "a profound personality, through which speaks our race, our soul, our history", because "small people speak in the name of themselves, and great people speak in the name of everyone." In conclusion he means that anyone who does not understand Meštrović as a "prophet" has no moral right to enjoy his art.[213]

The sculptor Meštrović might not express himself in the same exalted style as Mitrinović, but, however, he would agree with parts of it. He was a Dalmatian who believed in Yugoslavia, seeing no difference between Serbs and Croats. According to Andrew Wachtel, whose research has been very influential, he not only expressed, but also *stimulated* the Serbian Croatian 'synthesis' with his Kosovo-cyclus.[214] Recent scholars state that Meštrović rather expressed a 'primordial' Yugoslavism, which means he believed in an 'existing' nation of Serbo-

[211] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Ivan Meštrović" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 187-198. Originally published in *Bosanska Vila* 26 nr. 9 (1911) 129-131, Nr. 10 (1911), 145-148.
[212] Ibidem, 196-197.
[213] Ibidem, 197.
[214] Andrew Wachtel, "Ivan Mestrovic, Ivo Andric and the synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period" in: Djokic (ed.), *Yugoslavism*, 238-251.

Croats.[215] It is maybe impossible to reconstruct the exact concepts Meštrović had in his mind (since historians cannot look into the heads of the protagonists). Much more important for the argument of this chapter is the great impact it had on Mitrinović's worldviews. In the tone and content of his many articles about Meštrović's Kosovo-cyclus we can trace some aspects of Serbian *Blut-und-Boden* nationalism, but also modernist art conceptions, early 20th century radical life philosophy and even some theosophy.

As an original and unique figure in the Bosnian networks, Mitrinović was the person who could synthesize all these influences and write the first original program for the radical Bosnian student movements. This program was published in 1912.

To Sarajevo

Pamphlets and manifestoes became a popular medium of expression around 1900, especially for the youth movements. The most ardent favorers of manifestoes were to be found among the futurists in Italy. The famous *Futurist Manifesto*, written by the consciously barbarous Marinetti, has become ever since a pivotal document illustrating the atmosphere of radical sentiments against civilization and male desire for a coming world war during the first decade of the 20th century. Palavestra states that Mitrinović was in contact with some of the futurists in Rome, at least with Giovanni Papini.[216] Although we can't be sure about the context of these contacts, I presume that the Italian manifesto-culture has had its influence on Mitrinović when he returned from Rome. Until 1911 he had only written articles, reviews, column-styled texts, and several critiques. After 1911 Mitrinović launched a number of manifestoes, of which the first was published in *Zora* in 1911.

Back from Rome, he stayed in Sarajevo for a while. Since he was a real editor of *Bosanska Vila* he met with editors and writers like Nikola Kašiković and Aleksa Šantić. His ideas of a Serbian-Croatian synthesis were now to be realized into acts. Meanwhile, he kept on writing for Croatian papers too, mostly reviews about opera and other classical music. These reviews were not much liked by the Young Croat poet

[215] Aleksandar Ignjatović, "Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism" *Slavic Review* 73 no. 4 (2014), 828-858: 830.
[216] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 29.

Antun Gustav Matoš, who attacked Mitrinović both for his literary and national views. Principally, Matoš considered Mitrinović a dangerous agent of Greater Serbian expansion. Interestingly, these young Croats were not necessarily anti-Serbian, but felt mistrust towards Mitrinović's interpretation of the cultural collaboration. One of the articles in *Mlada Hrvatska* (Young Croatia) said:

> "I am a loyal friend of the cultural unity of Serbs and Croats, but meanwhile I began realizing that it is only possible by blackmailing, that, if we give up everything which makes us Croats. It is more than clear, where our brothers Serbs want us to go: we need to eradicate Croatian culture and completely adopt the Yugoslav, and that is a Serbian idea. We realize it now, and we are grateful to Mr. Mitrinović, that he frankly tells it the Croats."[217]

Many Croats believed that Yugoslavism was nothing but a disguised Serbian nationalism. The feud between Mitrinović and the Matoš-circle divided the student population in the Croatian capital, mostly along ethnic lines.

Mitrinović did not alter his endeavors spreading Serbo-Croat collaboration and Yugoslavism. The Kosovo-sculptures of Ivan Meštrović had given him the strength to keep on fighting for a South Slavic liberation. Suffering from stomach and lung aches, he stayed two months in the Zagreb hospital, where he kept on writing. His very influential manifesto "The first redaction for a program of the youth club *National Unification*" was most probably written there. It was printed in the printing plant of *Pijemont* and distributed from there.[218]

National Unification: The guide for a movement

In 1912, when the Croatian students travelled to Belgrade for an excursion, they took the text of Mitrinović's manifesto with them, where it was brought into circulation by the network of Piedmont, the organ of

[217] NBS - Mile Budak, "Medulićeva izložba i Gosp. D. Mitrinović" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr 2. (1911), 42-44. It must be noted that the author of this review, Mile Budak, would become one of the leaders and ideologues of the collaborative fascist movement in the Independent State of Croatia during World War II.
[218] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 86.

the Black Hand. The students involved in this smuggling of the manifesto were mostly radical pro-Yugoslav Croats, including Oskar Tartaglia, Luka Jukić, and Tin Ujević. Hence we can see that the Yugoslav idea was expressed by radicals among both the Bosnian-Serbs, Croatians, and Serbs. When Gavrilo Princip was brought to court in December 1912 to witness about the Croat-Serb youth coalitions in Sarajevo, he was confronted with a letter in which he had written that he stayed with the ideas as articulated in the "National Unification" program, which he called "Mitrinović's program". [219] If we believe Princip's letter, Mitrinović had written the first guide for a movement.[220]

Therefore it is important to take a look at the text of the program.[221] It articulates that Serbs and Croats are two names for one nation. Additionally, the Slovenians are seen as another nation, but the program strives for a close collaboration between Serbo-Croats and Slovenians in creating a future Yugoslav culture and state. The central idea of the program is that "a national culture cannot exist without a national society, and a national society cannot exist without a national state." Interestingly, the program hails a 'radical democratic' political system and rages against churches, usurpers, and collaborators with the foreign regimes. This, again, is a typical aspect of Mitrinović's race-oriented visions of Slav-dom. He speaks out for the 'Slavification' of the nation and a battle against 'alien' influences from the un-Slavic cultures: "A radical destruction of foreign influence and the Slavification of our culture: De-Germanization, De-Magyarization, and De-Italianization."[222] Mitrinović stresses that the identification with the national idea alone is not enough. Members of the club must not only make people aware of their national consciousness, but also strengthen it by spreading propaganda, mostly through publications. [223] This also means that

[219] Archiv BiH: Präsidium des K. und K. gemeinsamen Finanzministeriums in Angelegenheiten Bosniens und der Herzegowina (Präs.), br. 1561. 25/10/1914. Published in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 130-133.
[220] It is not 100 % sure that it was Mitrinović who wrote this program, but most historians agree that it is highly plausible. In the Austrian police reports it is noted that it was Dimitrije Mitrinović's brother Predrag who distributed the program in the Sarajevo schools. See: Arhiv BiH: Okružni Sud Sarajevo (OSS). Proces Miloš Pjanić i drugi. (Proces MP), IV – 2 – 1, Br. 112.
[221] Published in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 296-299.
[222] Ibidem, 298.
[223] Ibidem, 297.

individual members must constantly question themselves whether their national consciousness is strong enough. The program further addresses economic and political issues from the national perspective: "The economic strength need be centralized in the fatherland." Although the program speaks often of democratization and freedom, there is also mentioning of 'sacrifices' and 'battles'. In a nutshell, the content is an expression of Westernized ideas of democratic societies, breathing the realism of Masaryk, but, at the same time, referring to local traditions of violent rebelliousness. Elements of Mazzini's vision can be distinguished as well: the vaguely conceptualized emphasis on national unification and glorification on one hand, and the elevation of the human race on the other hand are obviously borrowed from the founder of Young Italy. But most of all: the secrecies of Mazzini's society were copied.

The manifesto was one of the four reasons why the Austrians started a large investigation about youth activities crossing the Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian borders, which started in 1912. The other manifestoes the Austrians considered direct threads to the peace in Bosnia were the *Death of a Hero* by Vladimir Gaćinović, *Croatia in the Fight for Freedom* by Tin Ujević, and the statutes of the *People's Defense*.[224]

Indictment

The Austrian Authorities presumed that the smugglers and informants of the despicable Greater Serbian nationalism were to be found in a Sarajevo high school club called *the Serbian-Croatian Progressive Organization*. This club was led by Ivo Andrić and his friend Miloš Pjanić. One of the first members was Gavrilo Princip. The boys gathered to read poetry and discuss Serbian-Croatian unity. In Bosnia this sort of initiatives were watched more closely than in Croatia. That is why the members met under the open sky, in a park or at someone's home.[225] It all sounded quite innocent, but in the forbidden pamphlets, the youthful idealism absolutely went beyond lyrics about girls, flowers or stars, or, more often, grieving for blood, death, destruction and autumn leaves. In 1912, during the Balkan Wars, more and more documents appeared in Sarajevo,

[224] Arhiv BiH. Proces MP. IV, 2-1, Br. 49.
[225] Arhiv BiH. Proces MP. IV – 2 – 1, Br. 2.

calling out for violence against the Austrians, and even a "revolution" possibly leading to the creation of a new South Slav state.

So, the indictment against "Pjanić & Co." was primarily the dissemination of prohibited revolutionary literature on Bosnian territory. The central question in the process was: Who had smuggled the prohibited literature across the border and who had spread it? The arrested youth was asked especially about the above mentioned four leaflets. *Narodna Odbrana* containing sensitive information about the Austrian army. Mitrinović's *National Unification* was the manifesto for establishing a club that unites Serbs and Croats, and advocated a Yugoslav state. Very similar ideas were articulated in Tin Ujević's *Croatia in the fight for freedom*, and, eventually, *the Death of a Hero* encouraged Serbian and Croatian students to sacrifice themselves.

The Croatian pamphlet was especially worrisome for the Austrians. Croatian youth was seemingly "poisoned" by revolutionary thought, and, more problematically, by Serbian nationalism. Ujević was a vigorous writer. He wrote that the Austrians had brought "filth from a cloaca" to Croatia, and he stated: "The confiscation of newspapers, the forbidden meetings: it only strengthens us in our decisiveness in the battle and our will to protest. That is how the February demonstration started and how it came to the closure of the university, and not to mention the students strikes in secondary schools." He continued: "We are not only against the Ban himself, but against the whole monarchy. (...) We want a Yugoslavia at the expense of Austria." Interestingly, Ujević supported the use of violence: "In a country where you get robbed, violence is the only right and the only truth. (...) The violence is so often used against us that it is better to perpetrate violence ourselves…"[226]

A government commissioner concluded: "The spread of such a document, regardless whether one is distributing or just giving away one copy to read, cannot be seen as the dissemination of banned literature or a threat to public order, but only as high treason." [227]

[226] Proces MP, IV, 2-1, Br. 5, 6, 25.
[227] Proces MP, IV, 2-1, Br. 25.

Hunting down the agitators

Miloš Pjanić was the "treasurer" of the Croatian Serb progressives. The police arrested him in October 1912 and used his testimony as the first source of information for the extermination of Bosnian pupils networks. In the interrogations of Pjanić they collected names of accused students. A list in the archive shows that Gavrilo Princip, his fifteen-year-old cousin Bogdan Princip and the sixteen year old Cvjetko Popović (one of the convicts in the Sarajevo assassination trial), were on these lists.[228]

Pjanić had to explain why he possessed the statutes of the People's Defense. The copy they found in his home was signed with his name, written in cyrillic. The booklet contained top-secret information about the Austrian army, so the anonymous author was to be traced and tried for high treason. Most probably, the statutes were written by Milan Pribičević, a former Austrian officer who deserted and went over to the Serbian army. Meanwhile, he was secretary of the People's Defense.

Pjanić remained vague about the origin of the revolutionary pamphlets. To the investigating judge he said: "Around St. George's Day (6 May) I had three weeks off and I went to Belgrade, where I met with some students. (...) One of them, I believe he was a Bosnian, gave me this book, but I cannot remember his name. In Belgrade, people call each other not by a surname but by given name (...) There I met Luka Jukić, who read some poems to me. That happened about two or three times, in the theater bar."[229]

The Austrian police began confiscating the correspondence of Miloš Pjanić. Several letters and postcards give some insight in the reach of Pjanić's network, from Prague to Belgrade, and, most interestingly, to the komitet in Southern Serbia at the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Let us have a look at some of these letters. On June 6th 1912, Miloš Pjanić wrote from Sarajevo to Borivoje Jevtić in Belgrade: "Thank you for your thoughts. I know it is good in Belgrade, I do not know the state of the material circumstances, but everything will be fine. Please study for the people, and study for us! I'm traveling, possibly tomorrow. After the holidays I will go with you. Here is everything as always, it's quite odd without you and Gavro."[230] This "Gavro" was Gavrilo Princip, the to-be

[228] Proces MP. IV – 2 – 1, Br. 12, 49. IV – 2 – 2, Br. 215.
[229] Proces MP IV, 2-1, Br. 1.
[230] Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 136.

assassin of 1914. He was a close acquaintance of Miloš Pjanić, as is shown in another letter to Belgrade: "How is Gavro? Does he shout: Long live the revolution? Greet him from me".[231] These letters were great sources of information. Via the letters of Borivoje Jevtić, Miloš Pjanić, and eventually Gavrilo Princip the Austrians could track down the contacts between the Sarajevo circles, and the Belgrade militant students, who were, in turn, in contact with the army officers and četnik leaders in the Ottoman warzone. In September 1912, Dragutin Mras received a postcard from Serbia which was undersigned by Simo Miljuš and Gavrilo Princip: "My dear! Look at the map where you can find Prokuplje. We are there now. We do not know where we're heading ("For Freedom and Fatherland"?). Greetings from your friend Gavro. If we will not see each other again, take it as a final salute. (…) If you are religious, pray to God for us, if you're not, ask your missus she will pray for us."[232]

Prokuplje was in the deep south of Serbia, close to the war zone. It was very likely these students Simo Miljuš and Gavrilo Princip were volunteering for the Serbian komitet, in accordance with the program of the Black Hand. Considering the seriousness of the situation, it would have been logical that the Austrian police started a witch-hunt. This was not really the case. After the first hearing of Pjanić in October 1912 it took some months before the process really became serious.

Several other students were interrogated, including a fifteen-year-old Bogdan Princip (a cousin of Gavrilo Princip). The government commissioner wrote in a letter dated 16 December that the police had been too slow and lenient, much to his annoyance: "It is very possible that searches now will come too late, despite the fact that I had decreed that Pjanić and his associates should all be arrested after the first witness testimony (in mid-October)."[233] In December the Bosnian police began to at first seriously to uncover the Croatian-Serbian network of Bosnian students. They applied the snowball method: for each name a series of new names of Bosnian revolutionaries was put on the list.

Because Pjanić had mentioned Princip already during the first hearing, the net was soon closing in on the young *gymnasium* student. On

[231] Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 134.
[232] Dopisna karta koju su Dragutinu Mrasu, đaku gimn. u Sarajevu, poslali iz Prokuplja Simo Miljuš i Gavrilo Princip 1912. G. in: Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 138.
[233] Proces MP, IV, 2-1, Br. 25.

23 December the police heard Vladeta Bilbija, a first cousin of Princip mother's side, who had to explain what they were doing at the progressive organization. In a file which is dated on 28 December it is shown that the police already had a long list of young suspects. Among them was also the name of Gavrilo Princip, adding: "Probably a student". On December 30, 1912, the trial judge asked Pjanić about again about individual members of the Sarajevo progressive association. Pjanić played the role of a true conspirator. About Bogdan Princip he said, "I do not even know his first name. He was on the teacher's school", and about Gavrilo: "I know he was a schoolboy. Where he is now and what school he is attending, I do not know." That was a lie. From the aforementioned letters we know that he asked his friends in Belgrade about the fortunes of Princip, and whether he did yell "long live the revolution".

It did not take long until Princip was found. Borivoje Ćasić was a classmate of Princips best friend Danilo Ilić and worked as a teacher. He was regularly found in Belgrade and told the police on the 10th of January that he met Princip there: "I spoke with him and other Bosnians in the café Green Wreath, where I usually came to play billiards. He informed me that he was in Belgrade to take his exam at the school and that he was a private pupil. I do not know if he was also a member of any political organizations". From this interrogation is also revealed that Ćasić had a girlfriend called Jelena Jezdimirović, and with whom he corresponded in a secret script. His confiscated letters were unreadable for the Austrians, about which Ćasić said: "These are about my relationship with Jelena, they are about intimate matters and I do not want to translate them for you."[234] This same woman, Jelena Jezdimirović, would claim many decades later that she had been the lover of Gavrilo Princip.[235] Nobody can verify whether this was true, but the fact that Jelena was the lover of someone who had met Princip in Belgrade, reinforces the suspicion that they certainly knew each other quite well.

[234] Proces MP, IV, 2-2 Br. 57.
[235] The "love life" of Gavrilo Princip is discussed in: David DeVoss, "Searching for Gavrilo Princip" *Smithsonian* 31/5 (2000) 42-53; Vuk Jelovac, "Prva I poslednja ljubav Gavrila Principa" *Politika* (22/01/1939); Muharem Bazdulj, "Jelena Sarajevska", in: *Sarajevski Atentat: Devedeset Godina posle* (*Vreme* 24/06/2004) 34-41; Cvjetko Popović, *Oko Sarajevskog Atentata: Kritički osvrti i napomene* (Sarajevo; Svjetlost, 1969), 85; Van Hengel, *Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, 100-104.

Meanwhile also Borivoje Jevtić, a famous Bosnian writer in the interwar period and editor of several periodicals, was interrogated.

On the 28th of January 1913, the teenager Jelena Jezdimirović was interrogated about her connections with Bosnian-Serb rebels in Belgrade, and about her relationship with Ćasić. A telegram went out to Grahovo saying that Gavrilo should be sought as soon as possible. Jelena denied any involvement and said she knew no one names from the list, except her alleged ex-lover Ćasić and Cvjetko Popović - a seventeen year old student who was hanging around in Belgrade. In case she had known Princip, it may have been possible she tried to protect him. We cannot know this, and in any case, it was too late: On the first of February Gavrilo Princip was brought before the investigating judge Naumowicz. This same Naumowicz would meet Princip again in 1914, but this time as a suspect of the murder of Franz Ferdinand.

Serbian and Croatian progressives

Just like Miloš Pjanić and all the others were interrogated about their own correspondence, also Princip was asked about a letter he had sent to his friend Marko Maglov, student of medicine in Prague.[236] The letter was confiscated by the Bohemian police in Prague, immediately after Marko Maglov was arrested during the performance in a theatre. The *Bosnische Post* wrote that he was accused of high treason, and, interestingly, stated that "Maglov was arrested at the request of the chief prosecutor of Pula who recently had discovered a conspiracy of sailors."[237] Nothing is known about this conspiracy of sailors. Decades later, Marko Maglov wrote how Princip had written him several letters to ask about the student activities in Prague, and what the Bosnian students could learn from them. Maglov had replied to these letters, but the last one was left unanswered because of his arrest in the theatre.[238]

---

[236] [236] The letter is archived in Archiv BiH: Präsidium des K. und K. gemeinsamen Finanzministeriums in Angelegenheiten Bosniens und der Herzegowina (Präs.), br. 1561. 25/10/1914. After the war Marko Maglov became a doctor in Brčko (Bosnia) and has confirmed the authenticity of the document. Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 130-132; See also: Vojislav Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i saopštenja*, 56-57.

[237] The article from *Bosnische Post* is discussed in: "Hapšenje jednog studenta" *Pijemont* 02/01/1913.

[238] Letter of Marko Maglov to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i saopštenja*, 56-57.

The letter from Gavrilo Princip to his friend Maglov in Prague is a great source about the activities of the gymnasium-students in Sarajevo. First, it gives insight in the coalition making process of the several youth movements of the Bosnian highschool. Second, it shows the interconnectedness between the Bosnian highschool students and the progressive students at the University of Prague. Third, it also sheds some light on the recurring threats of the power holders, both the Austrian and the Serbian ones. Princip, for example, mentions the influence of the Bosnian-Serb newspapers like *Serbian Word* and *People*. Fourth, in this letter we can read that the program of Mitrinović is indeed was used as a guideline for the protest movement. And eventually, the names of the Zagreb and Prague-based progressive periodicals like *Zora* and *Val* are mentioned. All in all, this letter explains a lot.

Princip wrote: "As you know we have two movements… the National Serbs (which are also called the radicals) and the Progressives. I will explain you everything from the beginning. As far as I know, there was so far no organization here that caused so much commotion [as the Progressives]. This year we gathered for the first meeting. I did not attend, but I know that the following was discussed: What is our main idea? Then two proposals were presented: The people around (Miloš) Pjanić favored a national (progressive) association for unification; another group favored the founding of a more literary, intellectual group. The group around Pjanić meant that everyone who is Slavic may become a member. Then, a number of members separated from this "Pan-Slavic progressives" and started their own group with a radical national program."

Further Princip wrote that he favored a Croatian Serb coalition in the fight against the Austrian empire: "After we had worked one month alongside each other, and when the tempers had cooled a bit…the proposal was done to merge with the progressive Croats - which is what you had suggested too."

This is interesting, because Maglov was a student in Prague, where the collaboration between Serbs and Croats was seen as self-explanatory and which was supported by several local university papers,

such as *Croatian Thought* before, and then *Val*, and eventually *Zora*. "But", Princip continued, "Among the Croats there were no progressives, there was no appropriate organization or something similar, so none of our proposal landed really."

Then, Gavrilo and Vladeta Bilbija proposed to merge with the "radicals"- which unfortunately failed. They began to work as progressives, and some individual Croats joined. But this did remove them even further from the "radicals". The idea that some progressive students also cooperated with Croats brought them in troubles with radical Serb nationalists, who immediately took action.

Princip wrote: "Our organization counted 35 to 40 Serbian and Croatian members (no Muslims). They (the radicals) took the initiative, and included a few university students and people around *Serbian Word* and *People*, and they founded a 'central government' in which members of all Serbian students associations (gymnasium, teacher training, secondary schools, commercial academy and the association of Serbian Muslims - about 80 people) were included but us: the progressives."

If we are to believe Princip's letter, subsequently a bitter fight broke out between Serbian nationalists on the one hand and the "Serbo-Croats" on the other side. Princip chose to abide with the progressives: "We have declared solidarity with the Croatian brothers, while they (the radicals) unfortunately sympathized with the absolutist and cruel Magyars." Of course, the Radical Serbs were not allied to the Magyars, but Princip meant to say that the choice not to help the Croats would be understood as helping the Magyars. Here we see the interesting dynamics of shifting coalitions.

This is also reflected in this paragraph of the letter: "You ask me what path we want to follow, the one of *Zora* or *Val*? As an answer I can tell you that our organization has chosen to follow the direction of *Zora*, who supports the unification of Serbs and Croats, but only as a concept, because we stick to the revolutionary program of Mitrinović."

He ends the letter with a personal note, which clearly shows that Marko Maglov had been worried in an earlier letter to his protégé: "Now something about myself. I am now only a private pupil of the gymnasium. I have left school because I was sick in the first semester and I failed in mathematics. I'll write more later on. Jovo [his brother - GvH] made little business this year, but it looks like as if it will get better. Anyway we are

still healthy. Now I am tired of writing. Answer me soon! Serbian greetings from Gavro."

When Princip was asked to give clarity about the content of this letter, he simply denied everything. "It is absolutely unknown to me that among the students of Sarajevo an organization has existed that was called the Serbo-Croat called progressive society."

Then, Naumowicz brought in a witness who told that Princip frequently had borrowed books from the collection of the association and that his name was also written in some of the confiscated books. To this he replied: "I knew nothing of this association, it could be that I took these books from a fellow student, for example from Miloš Pjanić I have borrowed a few books. Possibly, those books were indeed of the association and so my name has entered the borrowers list but I insist that I knew nothing about this association, nor that this association had a library."

About his contacts with Miloš Pjanić he testified. "It is not known to me that there was a movement of students, or what movement whatsoever, who had a revolutionary tendency, which consciously would go that far to separate a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with violence (...) It is not known to me that students, and in this case Miloš Pjanić and Dragoslav Ljubibratić, have traveled across the country to spread these ideas among the people."

About his wanderings in Belgrade, the epicenter of Serbian nationalists, he said: "I was enrolled in school for the fifth grade, but just at the beginning of the year I was sick for a month, so I could not go to the classes. Then I became a private pupil…I was afraid of the teachers there and thought I would not pass the exam, so I went to Belgrade (...) I went there in May 1912 and then I have my exams for the fifth and in early June sixth grade met with success (...) I stayed in Belgrade in June, July, August and September to mid-October, where I learned for the examinations of the seventh grade ..."

Naumowicz also asked about Ćasić, and if he had seen him in Belgrade. "I have not seen Ćasić (...) I do not know what Ćasić know about me and why he mentions my name." About the revolutionary pamphlets he knew nothing too: "For me, nothing is known about anyone who spreads texts with any revolutionary content through Bosnia." He

said he knew none of these texts, no statutes of the People's Defense, no *Croatia in the struggle for freedom* and no *Death of a Hero*. Only about the program for the National Unification he could say that he knew it existed, though he had never seen in Bosnia, only in a cafe in Serbia - from a distance, without having read it. Then Naumowicz asked whether Princip perhaps had heard of the "Program of Mitrinović".

Princip had never heard of it.

"And you might know a certain Marko, have you written him sometimes?"

"I have not written any Marko and I know no Marko."

Then Naumowicz brought in document number 173, the letter, ended with a combative "Serbian greeting" of Gavro Princip, to Marko Maglov in Prague.

Princip answered: "That is not my letter. I have not written a letter with such content."

"But it does look as if this is your letter. It tells you became a private student of the school that you went to the Belgrade gymnasium because you've been sick for a month, your brother Jovo is mentioned, and that lately his business was not going so well, and your brother is called Jovo too".

"That's true, but that is coincidental, it is not true that I flunked at mathematics, because in the end I did not get any note. My brother is indeed Jovo, but I have no idea if his business went bad last year."

Finally, Naumowicz asked once more: "Is it known to you at all that such organizations exist among schoolchildren and that such actions are implemented, as they are discussed in this letter?"

"Nothing about that is known to me," - Princip replied.

Conclusions

After all, the penalties in the Pjanić process were moderate. No evidence of high treason was found. Ivo Andrić, the chairman of the progressive club was no longer living in Bosnia and studied in Zagreb, which fell under the Hungarian law. There all his belongings were confiscated and he remained under surveillance, but he was not locked up. During the interrogation he behaved very similar to Princip: He knew nothing.[239]

[239] Proces MP, IV, 2-2 Br. 172/a.

However, they found a striking passage in his diary. On the very day that Luka Jukić wounded some people and had tried to assassinate Ban Cuvaj, Andrić wrote in his journal:

> "How splendid when the secret threads of conspiracy and revolt are drawing together! How happy I am to get this presage of the days of great deeds to come! Hajduk's blood flows and glows. My life passe without honor, without goodness, without sacrifice. But I love the good. Some live and some die on the pavements, expressing our common misfortune. Long live those who secretly, with a few words, are scheming new rebellions. I am not one of them, but may they live."[240]

The other young Bosnians were set free. This result seemed like a very mild end, but the Pjanić trial had put down the activities of the young Bosnians completely. Most of them fled to Serbia and others left for Prague. After Bosnian 'literary' associations had been disbanded, some former poets considered to choose the method of terror. Everything seemed simple with those enthusiastic suppliers of bombs in Belgrade. But weapons alone do not make assassins.

Three conditions contributed to the separation of a small group of young Bosnians, notwithstanding their personal and emotional frustrations. First, this politically active part became alienated from the elderly generation. The Croatian-Serbian coalition had once been the hope of the students, but in parliament they agreed on far-reaching compromises with the Hungarian and Austrian parties. This caused great disappointment among the politically active young people. Meanwhile in Bosnia many things had changed too. The once radical Petar Kočić had become a member of the Bosnian Sabor in order to reach his goals via parliamentary opposition. This squarely differed from the growing bravado of youth, who had tasted the sweet taste of violence during the 1912 demonstrations and, even more so, during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913.

Second: All this took place at a time when the Habsburg authorities became more oppressive. Especially the Austrian heir Franz

[240] Cited in Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 335.

Ferdinand saw in Bosnia a big problem and issued strict rules against all Serbian organizations, especially in cities like Sarajevo and Mostar. In a note to the *Militärkanzlei* of 6 January 1913, he wrote that Serbia absolutely was not allowed to open a consulate in Sarajevo, because it would "spark revolutions and riots".[241] After the Pjanić trials the Bosnian governor Potiorek banned the activities of all Serbian organizations, for reasons of 'emergency'. Because of these strict measures, many Serbian students began thinking of a new kind of resistance that was more serious, radical, and violent. Potiorek did not only worsen the relations with the Bosnian Serbs, but, at the same time, also damaged the delicate and subtle cultural mission of the Austrian in the Bosnian colony.

Eventually, even more than the disappointments over the compromises of the elderly generation and the counterproductive measures of Potiorek, it was the raging Balkan war in Serbia that made the students shift their attention from poetry to violent action. The outbreak of the First World War is often mistakenly pictured as a consequence of that moment when Gavrilo Princip had stuck the fuse in the powder keg. In fact, if there had been this metaphorical 'powder keg', it was already exploded long before 1914. In 1912 a Balkan Alliance of Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbs and Bulgarians successfully battled against the Turks.[242] And in 1913 Bulgaria and Serbia fought their own Balkan War. These wars were both very brutal. The Serbian army murdered entire Muslim villages in Kosovo, and Serbs and Bulgarians ravaged Macedonia.[243] The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were an unprecedented expression of cruel violence. But what mattered for the nationalist Bosnian youth was that Serbia achieved great military successes. Even the legendary field of the Blackbirds in Kosovo (*Kosovo Polje*), the decorum of ancient epic poetry, was reconquered.

Serbia, more than before, had become the "Piemonte" of South Slavic unification. Many students volunteered for the front. In the editorial introduction of *Zora* in 1912 was written:

---

[241] Cited in: Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 257

[242] Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002).

[243] This was discussed in the famous *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Washington: The Endowment, 1914).

> "Inter Arma Silent Musae (The muses fall silent during war). While our greatest war rages, we could not make *Zora* come out (...) The majority of our editorial staff takes part in the war, either at the front, either in the hospital or as a correspondent."[244]

3.6 Conclusions: Temporary alliances and coalitions

Whereas part II formed a Bosnian *genealogy*, this part can be seen as a *geography* of the young Bosnian student networks. The answer is, in a nutshell: In Vienna the students grouped, in Prague they learned, in Belgrade they formed an anti-Austrian alliance, in Zagreb they formed an anti-Hungarian alliance, and in Sarajevo these alliances temporarily merged into one movement.

The long answer is of course a bit more complicated and nuanced. The students were in a constant interactive play with those in power. The Austro-Hungarian *Verwaltung* tried to appease the brightest minds of the Bosnian youth and make them willing pupils of the Imperial cultural mission in the newest province. However, these students went to Vienna, Prague, Zagreb, and Belgrade and grew up as different, sometimes disloyal citizens.

Much started in Vienna. It must be remembered that the University of Belgrade was founded first in 1905. This means that before that, Bosnian-Serb students went to Zagreb and Vienna. As I have described in the second part, these Bosnian students who studied in Vienna were closely watched. The example of the *Hochschulinstitut* illustrates this. There are several reasons why individual Bosnian students grew into a group in Vienna. First, they were put together in this dorm and institute, which was especially founded for them. Second, they could enroll in the émigré-student associations, like *Zora*, where they bonded with the elderly students. *Zora* played a key role in the mobilization of the Bosnian students in Vienna. Petar Kočić was in the first challenging group. When looking at this group which includes important cultural

[244] *Zora* (1912) 6-7-8.

pioneers like Đorđe Pejanović, Uroš Krulj, Risto Radulović and others, we see that the future intellectual elite of Bosnian Serbs was schooled and formed in Vienna.

Here I return to the five arguments I gave in the introduction of this part.

First: group identities are formed automatically when networks stabilize into hubs. The structural connection function of a network in Vienna enhanced the mobilization of the Bosnian Serbs. The group was formed as an unintentional consequence of the educational opportunities offered by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The settlement of this previously fluid network is best exemplified in the founding of new societies, where students regularly met, including *Rad* (in 1905) and the 'progressive' student periodical *Zora* (in 1910).

Second, the development in a group is strongly dependent on the work and charisma of individual actors. I want to link this argument to the fifth argument, stating that coalition-making processes give strength to the social movements. Besides stabilization of networks, shifting coalitions between student movements in Zagreb, Prague and other cities contributed to the empowerment of an anti-Austrian movement. Interestingly, there are several routes: the first would be the one from Zagreb to Prague. Many students left for Prague via the Croatian capital. Pioneers like Stjepan Radić were living links between the South-Slavic and West-Slavic student circles. When looking at the Croatian student periodicals of Prague, like, for example, *Hrvatska Misao* (Croatian Thought), it is not hard to distinguish the cultural transfer. Masaryk's realism, Austroslavism, and other ideas which were developed and shaped among the West-Slavic nations, were transferred to the south. The step-by-step work, which was also implemented in Bosnia, is another interesting example of *cultural transfer* between student circles.

The second argument (role of charismatic individuals) can be linked to the fourth argument (top-down agency of political propagandists), because individual networkers were often supported by greater forces. Networkers like Petar Kočić and Dimitrije Mitrinović were financed by the Serbian government. The rise of the movement was therefore both the unanticipated consequence of Austro-Hungarian repression, and, on the other hand, an outcome of the much anticipated political propaganda from Belgrade. The mobilization of the movement

in Bosnia would not have taken place, if there was not any financial and moral support from Belgrade. Networkers, like Dimitrije Mitrinović and Vladimir Gaćinović, could strengthen the ties between the student circles in and out of Bosnia.

The third argument I gave in the introduction was about the role of historical 'events', as triggers of radicalization. I have identified some of them in this part. At first it was the Austrian, or rather Hungarian *repression* that made the students move from Zagreb to Prague. We need to stress the consequences of Austro-Hungarian suppression of student protests. If Stjepan Radić was not expelled from different universities, he would perhaps not have travelled through Europe to finish his studies. Meanwhile, the Belgrade government was perfectly aware what great opportunities could be created with these wandering youths. Therefore, if Zagreb-Prague was one important connection, then Zagreb-Belgrade was too. The connections between Belgrade and Zagreb, and Belgrade and Sarajevo respectively, were thus part of a political program. Institutes like Slovenski Jug, as well as the Black Hand, tried to attract young, progressive students from the 'occupied' lands.

So, in sum, the mobilization of the young Bosnian-Serbs within the educational networks was 1) a reaction to Austro-Hungarian repression, 2) a consequence of Serbian propaganda, and 3) a result of the works of charismatic individuals. These three reasons, however, are of course interlinked together. Mitrinović, for example, could not have been the influential broker without the support from independent Serbia.

Eventually, the triggers, the cataclysts for the further strengthening of the movement were in the Pjanić-trials of early 1913. Here a comparative perspective can provide insight. In her study *The Odd Man Karakozov*, Claudia Verhoeven has argued that the trials against the assassin Dmitry Karakozov, who tried but did not succeed to assassinate the tsar in 1861, could be seen as the beginning of the age of "modern terrorism".[245] She interpreted the important of Karakozov's crime in the ultimate light of the reception story: the impact of this trial on society was immense. Conspiracies, animosities, and irrational fear became continuous aspects of a political culture. And would never vanish again.

[245] Verhoeven, *Odd Man Karakozov*, 10.

I would not go so far to say that the Pjanić-trials in 1912 and 1913 were the beginning of 'terror' in Bosnia, but for sure the trials against a whole network of suspicious youth tickled the imagination of both the hegemonic forces and the subaltern protesters.[246] In other words, the Austro-Hungarian nightmare of a generation of young Bosnian Serb troublemakers, which needed to be suppressed, was becoming real after the trials against Pjanić. And there were other consequences. Two years later, Cvjetko Popović, one of the suspects in the trial against Gavrilo Princip, said to the investigating judge that the trial of 1912 was one of the reasons that he wanted to take revenge and assassinate the Austrian heir.[247]

The question whether the Austrians had chosen the right policy to hunt for radicalized students is a political, and maybe even a criminological one. However, the trials were great *food for imagination*: from 1912 onwards it was clear for the radical Bosnian students that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was an aggressive oppressor. On the other hand, for the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the policemen and the politicians, it had become clear that there were 'terrorists' in the society that needed either to be eliminated or to be absorbed in bourgeois culture.

[246] Most criminologist agree that there is a correlation between imprisonment and radicalization. See: Stephen Vertigans, *The Sociology of Terrorism: People, Places and Processes* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 85-86.
[247] Saslušanje Cvetko Popovića, in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 135; In 2014 a biography of Cvjetko Popović was published in Belgium (in Dutch): Hilde Eynikel, *De man die de wereld in brand moest steken* (Antwerp: Davidsfonds, 2014).

Part IV: Bazarov in Bosnia

"Remember what happened in Italy, Russia, France: Remember Felice Orsini, a god given introvert, an almost antique hero who was hanged in Paris, because he attacked Napoleon III for blocking the unification of Italy; Think of the holy death of Andrey Zhelyabov and Sofia Perovskaya who died like characters from fairy tales and legends in sweltering and difficult Russian circumstances; and remember the countless unknown heroes who fell on the streets of Paris for an idea, they are epic heroes for freedom and humanity" - Vladimir Gaćinović[1]

Introduction

This part forms a transnational comparison between the young Bosnians and young Russians. Comparative research can provide some insight in the phenomenon of radical youth culture, and, at the same time, clarify certain patterns in intellectual and cultural exchange.

The idea of 'being young' and a strong generational consciousness was not particularly Russian, but it was put into a literary theme by the Russian novelists in classics such as *What is to be done?* and *Fathers and Sons*. Generational consciousness, then, seemingly became a very Russian phenomenon: groups of activists who were active after 1848 called themselves 'the generation of the 1840s', followed by the 'generation of the 1860s' and, later, the 'generation of the 1880's'. The Russian cultural and political development could be seen, at least in an artistic way, as a very intense dialogue between fathers and sons.

'Sons' who oppose the 'fathers' was also a recurring metaphor in the writings of the Young Bosnians. Borivoje Jevtić wrote in an essay for the Sarajevo periodical *Srpska Omladina* (Serbian Youth) that "our fathers have capitulated, their arms have rusted, and their hearts are closed out of shame, and in case someone would bother them, they would accept it because they are satisfied that they are at least alive and

[1] Osvetnik, "Smrt Jednog Heroja", in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 278-291:286-87.

not wishing for nothing, and they are doing everything that is required."[2] Vladimir Gaćinović wrote: "Our fathers, our dictators, they are the real tyrants, who want to drag us along with them and who want to dictate us how we should lead our lives."[3]

Karl Mannheim, he was mentioned before, argues in "The Problem of Generations" (1928-9) that a certain 'cohort' of persons born in a given period of time interpret historic events in different ways as their parents do.[4] Subsequently, these 'cohorts' can or may get into conflict about the interpretation of historical events which occur in the same given time. As Demartini has argued, Mannheim's assumption of a disagreement between generations is foremost rooted in sociological conflict theory.[5] A conflict is a social interaction in which identities are formed and strengthened. Younger generations position themselves vis-à-vis the elderly generation, in order to identify themselves. It might be no coincidence that Mannheim formulated his ideas in the aftermath of the First World War, when the 'lost generation' was an important point of research (and of international concern).[6]

One of the inaccuracies in Mannheim's conceptualization of a generation gap is the demarcation, as children are born every day. In other words: Where do we draw a line? Mannheim was aware of this inaccuracy and borrowed Wilhelm Dilthey's notion of 'qualitative' or 'interior' time over 'quantitative' time - meaning that time itself is often experienced subjectively. The idea of 'subjective time' was also a key element in the writings of the early 20th century French philosopher Henri Bergson, whose books were read by some of the young Bosnians,

---

[2] HAS - Borivoje Jevtić, "Ideje i dela" *Srpska Omladina* 1 nr. 6/7 (1913), 125-127: 126.
[3] Vladimir Gaćinović, *Ogledi i pisma* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1956) 189-190.
[4] See Part II.
[5] Joseph R. Demartini, "Change Agents and Generational Relationships: A Reevaluation of Mannheim's Problem of Generations" *Social Forces* 64 nr. 1 (1985), 1-16: 3. Demartini criticizes the use of Mannheim's notion of generation to explain socialization processes in social movement and concludes in his findings that is based on contemporary research: "[The] problem of generations becomes one of understanding the relationship between socialization and social change rather than viewing change as a result of breakdown in the socialization process." (p. 16).
[6] Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (London: Weidenfels and Nicolson, 1980), 73-84.

including Gaćinović.[7] Mannheim examines the complicated link between personal and historical time, and between biography and history. He problematizes how generational consciousness is related to significant changes in society and stresses that, in times of accelerated social changes, the new 'social generations' can create more opportunities and have greater probability to participate in society.

The late 19th and early 20th century was a changing time, and rapidly industrializing and urbanizing societies underwent deep political and cultural transformations. Time, as such, was experienced differently - and subjectively - by the young. The generational consciousness is in this part related to the concept of *cultural transfer*: the European ideas of 'youth' and 'youthfulness', teenage revolt and generational gaps were developed in all European states and Empires, spreading as wildfire through the educational networks of the universities. Proudly young heroes appeared in novels, which became increasingly popular among the student population. This part deals with the question how these different forms of 'generational consciousnesses' reached the Bosnian context. There are three chapters: in the first I identify the main issues of Russian nihilism and *inteligentsija*. In the second chapter I discuss the 'realia': how did young Russian ideas reach Bosnia. And finally, I focus on the networker Vladimir Gaćinović, who more than others identified with the young Russians.

4.1 Russia: Populists, Nihilists, and Terrorists

Introduction

The conservative Austrian newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* wrote about the assassination attempt of Bogdan Žerajić in 1910 with an

[7] Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume I*, 138.

exclamation: "This is not Russia!"[8] When the police nevertheless searched through the room of Žerajić they found many Russian revolutionary materials, including the batch from a book written by the *émigré* anarchist prince Peter Kropotkin. Also the Serbian press paid attention to the alleged 'Russian' connections of the unfortunate assassin.[9] After the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in 1914, the rooms of the assassins again were searched through. There, in the tiny apartment where Gavrilo Princip had stayed in the last week before the fatal day, the police found political pamphlets and novels of Pushkin, Gorky, Andreyev and Herzen, and *Underground Russia*, the famous handbook for the modern terrorist written by the revolutionary hero Sergey 'Stepniak' Kravchinsky.[10]

The Russian connection was, to some extent, a young Bosnian-Serb dream, a sometimes unrealistic imagination of a great patron in the East: Mother Russia, the Slav icon. Petar Kočić had expressed his admiration for the Russian culture and literature, like many other Bosnian-Serb writers.[11] Both Gaćinović and Mitrinović had written positively about Russian culture as a guiding light for the young generation and apparently Gavrilo Princip was an enthusiastic reader of Russian novels.[12]

There are at least two explanations. The first is that Russophilia was (and is) common in Serbia. Already in the times of Serb liberation in early 19th century, the local political and religious elite expressed the wish to be connected to the Russian brethren in the East.[13] This idea

[8] *Neue Freie Presse*, 16/06/1910, cited in: Robin Okey, "The *Neue Freie Presse* and the South Slavs of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914" *The Slavonic and East European Review* 85 (2007/1) 79-104: 100.
[9] NBS - „Slučaj Bogdana Žerajića" *Slovenski Jug* 7 nr. 24 (1910), 189-190.
[10] HHSt-Archiv Wenen, NEFF, *Prozess in Sarajevo*, 95.
[11] The progressive Serbian periodical *Zora* from Vienna published regularly about the young Russians, as well as translations of articles of Kropotkin, Tolstoy and others. See, for some examples: Vsevlad Argus, "Iz Rusije: Misli i Utici" *Zora* 2 4-5 (1911), 192-203; *Zora* 2 6-7 (1911), 269-276; H. Capponi, "Nemir na ruskim visokim skolama" *Zora* 2 4-5 (1911), 223-231.
[12] Van Hengel, *De Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, 71.
[13] David MacKenzie, *The Serbs and Russian Pan-Slavism 1875-1878* (New York: Cornell UP, 1967), 1-29; Idem, *Serbs and Russians* (New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1996) 3-14; Michael Boro Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870* (New York: Columbia UP, 1956), 3-30:11-12.

never vanished, even though Serbs and Russians had an unequal marriage. For pragmatic reasons the small Balkan states, like Serbia, were forced to negotiate with Russia's opponent, the Ottoman Empire, as well as with the Austrian Empire, so the alleged love between the two nations was therefore often secondary to geopolitical pragmatism, and this had its consequences. [14] The second reason is that protagonists from Russian literature became fashionable role models for the youth. Many 'adolescent idols' of those days were from Russia, because Russian literature was loved all over Europe. Especially students saw themselves mirrored in characters and themes of Russian literature, from Dostoievsky's Raskolnikov to Majakovsky's wild futurism. A young Bosnian contemporary wrote:

> "The Russian revolutionaries were widely read. Chernyshevsky's *What is to be done?* was a very popular novel and we took inspiration and ideas from it. Similarly loved were the works of Bakunin, Herzen, Kropotkin, Dostoevsky (especially *Crime and Punishment*), Maxim Gorky, but we also read much of Artsybashev, Leonid Andreyev (*The story of the seven who were hanged*), Stepniak (*Underground Russia*), and others."[15]

When tension grew in Bosnia after the 1908 annexation, some radicals played with the idea of terrorism. Since the first terrorist acts had taken place in Russia they read Stepniak's *Underground Russia*.[16] Vladimir

[14] David Mackenzie, "Russia's Balkan Policies and the South Slavs, 1878" in: Idem, *Serbs and Russians* (New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1996), 268-287.
[15] Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter: Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf* (Munich: L. Jevtić, 1976), 16-17.
[16] Stepniak, *Underground Russia. Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1973). Sergej Stepniak-Kravchinsky's book is in fact a collection of articles he wrote, originally in Italian, for the Italian paper *Il Pungolo*. The book was first published in 1882: *La Russia sotteranea: Profili e bozzeti rivoluzionare dal vero di Stepniak gia diretorre di 'Zemlia i Volia'*. It was translated into English (1883), Swedish (1883), German (1884), French (1885), Dutch (1886) and Hungarian (1893). The first Russian translation was published in 1893. See: Peter Scotto, "The terrorist as novelist: Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky", in: Anthony Anemone (ed.), *Just Assassins. The Culture of Terrorism in Russia* (Evanston-Illinois: Northwestern UP, 2010) 97-126; Lynn Ellen Patyk, "Remembering "The Terrorism": Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii's *Underground Russia*", *Slavic Review* 68 (2009/4) 758-781.

Gaćinović translated the most common works and biographies of Russian radicals, including the notorious *Catechism of the Revolutionary* by Bakunin and Nechaev.[17]

All these references to nihilists, propagandists and Dostoevsky-personages give enough reason to elaborate extensively on the Russian influences. Therefore, in the following 20 pages I outline the frame of reference for the Bosnians students, and, specifically, for Vladimir Gaćinović.

Intelligentsia and social change

The revolutionary students of the late 19th century have been described as a particularly 'Russian' phenomenon, which is not entirely correct. The radicals in Russia were strongly influenced by the events of the French Revolution and anarchist movements practicing the 'propaganda of the deed' in France, Italy, and Spain.[18] Russian radicalism was thus born in a broader European and global context, but would become a guiding model for many radical European youngsters – including some of them in Bosnia. It is therefore important to have a closer look at the development of radicalism in tsarist Russia. It started with the emergence of 'intelligentsia', both as a political images and as a 'class'. Subsequently, many other groups and subcultures emerged, including the nihilists, the populists, and the terrorists.

The word intelligentsia acquired vogue in the period after the death of Tsar Nicholas I and during the early years of the reign of Alexander II.[19] It is no coincidence that intelligentsia became a

[17] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume II*, 497.
[18] Philip Pomper, *Lenin's Brother: The Origins of the October Revolution* (New York: Norton & Company, 2010), 88-89.
[19] As for a research concept of 'intelligentsia', many conflicting definitions exist. The etymology of the word can be found in the French *Intelligence* and the German *Intelligenz*. But in Russia, and later in the rest of the world, 'inteligencija' rather became a value judgment than a clear description of a social phenomenon. It is associated with images of young men gathering in smoky attics discussing politics. This image is often used in films, cartoons, literature, and popular culture (take, for example, Joseph Conrad's novel *The Secret Agent*). These are nice portrayals of an historical episode, but we must try to keep these images from slipping into the subconscious. The character and etymology of Russian intelligentsia is discussed by many, among them: Emmanuel Waegemans, "Lijden door verstand: De kruisweg van de Russische intelligentsia" *Groniek* 38 (2005) 345-357; Victoria Frede, *Doubt,*

buzzword in the 1860s, which was an exciting decade of changes and challenges. The humiliating defeat of the Crimean War, the economic and social problems with serfdom, and the poor state of the industry in rural Russia were just a few of the major problems the new Tsar had to solve. According to Lampert, "no other moment between Peter the Great and Lenin was more pregnant with possibilities of development or more burdened with tensions and ambiguities than Alexander's reign."[20] The new Tsar was forced to reform. The first decade of his reign would become known as the 'thaw' (a recurring theme in Russian history, up to this day). Doug McAdams and others have stressed that social movements rather tend to appear in times of declining repression and increasing political opportunities (political process theory), a statement for which the rise of the 1860s intelligentsia is a convincing example.[21] During the 'thaw' the new Tsar launched a couple of education reforms, and he ordered to bring schools back under civilian control. Students were no longer required to wear a uniform and pupils from lower ranks, and yet even Jews, were allowed to enroll.[22] Because of this, universities could attract more students from different layers of society. In the period between 1855 and 1859, in a time-frame of four years, the size of the student body of the Petersburg University doubled, from 476 to 1026.[23] This improved the intellectual climate of the capital

Atheism, and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Intelligentsia (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Vladimir Nahirny, *The Russian Intelligentsia: From Torment to Silence* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983); Philip Pomper, *The Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1971) and Richard Pipes (ed.), *The Russian Intelligentsia* (New York: Columbia UP, 1961). The imagination of Russian intelligentsia in popular culture is discussed in: Choi Chatterjee, "Transnational Romance, Terror, and Heroism: Russia in American Popular Fiction, 1860-1917" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50 (2008), 753-777.

[20] E. Lampert, *Sons against Fathers: Studies in Russian radicalism and Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 1-2.

[21] Doug McAdams, John Carthy (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996).

[22] Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), 95-96.

[23] Brower, *Training the Nihilists*, 121.

city. Many decades later, Trotsky would write that the 1860s were "our short-lived 18th century".[24]

The reforms in educational policy brought sudden social changes. In the period 1855-1875, the "formation years of the intelligentsia" as Sdvižkov has put it, the majority of students came from the lower land-owning class, the middle and poor nobles.[25] Additionally more and more plebeians entered the universities, including the children of doctors, bureaucrats and priests. They altered the atmosphere of the universities, especially in Petersburg, and began speaking out for democracy and modernization. Student associations and assemblies multiplied like mushrooms. These 'intruders' in the safe haven of the Russian upper-class became the famous *raznochinchy*, an alleged new class that appeared directly under the upper class, but which stood above the lower class.[26] The raznochinchy ("people of various ranks") were not only a new phenomenon at the Russian universities, they also presented themselves proudly as the symbolic frontrunners of a new society in Russia, and were very visible in the Petersburg student circles. In the same time the raznochinchy became a politicocultural category, represented in literary and political texts of Herzen and other writers, for example Nikolaj Ogarev.[27]

It would however be a mistake to explain the emerging intelligentsia solely as a result of the appearance of raznochinchy, as if the social change immediately led to politicization and radicalization.[28] There were indeed many raznochinchy in the new students' movements of the 1860s, but, as is also argued by Brower, there was still a significant group of radicalized children of the Russian gentry.[29] In

[24] Cited in: Lambert, *Sons against Fathers*, 6.
[25] Denis Sdvižkov, *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz. Zur vergleichenden Geschichten der Gebildeten in Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 160.
[26] Much has been written about the supposedly absent Russian middle class. See: Harley D. Balzer (ed.), *Russia's Missing Middle Class: The Professions in Russian History* (New York: Sharpe, 1996); Edith W. Clowes (ed.), *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in late imperial Russia* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1991). The position of the raznochinchy is discussed in: Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *Structures of Society: Imperial Russia's "People of Various Ranks"* (Dekalb Illinois: Northern Illinois UP, 1994).
[27] Kimerling Wirtschafter, *Structures of Society*, 106.
[28] Gleason, *Young Russia*, 120-121.
[29] Ibidem; Brower, *Training the Nihilists*, 41.

conclusion, the intelligentsia may be seen as the alliance of politicized students from the ranks of the nobility, and the most eager and ambitious among the raznochinchy.

At the same time there was a "revolution from above".[30] Alexander's 1861 land reform, abolishing serfdom in Russia, gave him the nick-name "Liberator" or "Great Reformer".[31] Some writers, including Herzen, wrote positively about the "thaw" and, almost, drank a toast in honor of the new Tsar (if not the Polish demonstration in Warsaw was violently suppressed in February 1861).[32] But, in the student circles of the Petersburg University, dissent was growing rapidly. The student assemblies (*shkodki*) mingled in university policy, called out for democratization, and managed to run their own libraries where radical literature was freely available.[33] The years 1861-62 in Russia can be compared to the summer of 1968 in French, Dutch and German universities: a new group of politically active students provoked the ruling class of old-fashioned teachers. This activism spread rapidly within the university walls, and it had success. The rebellious students managed successfully to get authoritarian and/or incompetent professors to be removed from the faculty. And from 1861 onwards, several vehement, and some violent demonstrations took place in Petersburg. Chernyshevsky wrote: "The whole of educated Petersburg reveled in its bright new spring."[34]

In accordance with Chernyshevsky, many other writers spoke in the 1860s of an "intellectual awakening" of the new generation.[35] The social ties between individual members of the rapidly politicizing segment of the growing intelligentsia, including a large number of

---

[30] This phrase is borrowed from: Lampert, *Sons against Fathers*, 1.
[31] Popular Russian historian Edvard Radzinsky goes so far to characterize Alexander as "The Lincoln of Russia". See: Radzinsky, *Alexander II: The last Great Tsar* (New York: Simon and Schusters, 2005).
[32] Alexander had met the banned journalist/writer Herzen before, when he was still a prince. See: W.E. Mosse, *Alexander II and the Modernization of Russia* (London/New York: Tauris 1992), 32. The anecdote of the toast is mentioned in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 287.
[33] Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (London: Weidenfels and Nicolson, 1960), 222. First Italian ed. 1952.
[34] Cited in: Lampert, *Sons against Fathers*, 4.
[35] Brower, *Training the Nihilists*, 91.

raznochinchy, grew into the first 'radical' group in Russian society.[36] However, the 'intelligentsia' was also the outcome of a process of political identification and anticipation: The Tsarist vision of the intelligentsia as a dangerous coherent group threatening society became first and foremost a category of policy action, a frame. [37] The intelligentsia as a dangerous, coherent group threatening society was, in fact, never existent. But, those who were willing to be seen as dangerous, and wanted to establish a coherent group threatening society, were happy to identify themselves with the image. The intelligentsia was, therefore, both a group of newly educated youth, and, at the same time, a *categorization* made into reality.

'New People': Subculture of the 1860s

Paul Ricoeur wrote about the hermeneutics of daily life practice, and the meaning of reading life as a text.[38] The challenges of reading life as a text, or vice-versa, are exemplified in the case of the late 19th century Russian nihilists. The first nihilist, that is to say, was actually a novel personage taken from the 1862 Turgenev novel *Ottsy i dety* (Fathers and Children, or: *Fathers and Sons*). Decades after *Fathers and Sons* was published and had altered the image and imagery of both the students movement and the conservatives in society, Turgenev wrote to a friend that he, while writing his famous novel, just had decided to explore and comprehend the strange appearance of the 'new people' around him, without a plan nor a tendency: "There was – please don't laugh – a sort of *fatum*, something stronger than the author himself, something independent of him."[39]

Turgenev's famous 'nihilist' was Bazarov, one of the 'sons'. He was portrayed as a cold-hearted iconoclast, who believed in nothing

[36] In his study on education and radicalization, Brower prefers to use the word 'radical' above intelligentsia, since he deems the latter too vague. Brower, *Training the Nihilists*, 35

[37] Claudia Verhoeven, "The Making of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism" in: Isaac Land (ed.), *Enemies of Humanity: The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 99-116.

[38] Paul Ricoeur "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text" *Social Research* 38 3 (1971), 529-562, cited in: Leonid Livak, *How it was done in Paris*, 8-9.

[39] Turgenev's letter, cited in: Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, 277.

but the rules of science.[40] When the novel was published in 1862, it dropped a bombshell. The tensions between the Tsar and the people, the riots that had taken place after the official liberation of the serfs in 1861, the generational conflicts and all other social problems were reflected in the novel, and, more specifically, in its main characters. The novel was poorly understood by both Turgenev's literary friends and foes, possibly because of the fierce tenses in those days' Russian society. Bazarov was more than just about the novel character. And Turgenev himself was ambivalent as well. He wrote in a letter: "Did I want to abuse Bazarov or to extol him? I do not know myself, since I don't know whether I love him or hate him!"[41] The conservatives criticized Turgenev that he had portrayed Bazarov in too positive light, while they saw him as the ultimate representative of the young generation, willing to break and destroy everything that is beautiful and dignified. Some of the young generation were enthusiastic about Bazarov and wanted to copy the novel character's lifestyle. But, in left-wing circles, the novel was also attacked because Turgenev apparently had ridiculed the young generation.[42]

Soon Turgenev's 'nihilist' was transformed into a model of the cynical young iconoclast, and the rebellious students were indeed labelled as nihilists ('*nigilisti*'), with an allusion to Turgenev's novel. In reaction, the students took the name with pride and so a subculture was born. In a Ricoeurian sense, the text was read as an event. In this fascinating dynamics of naming and framing, the nihilists appeared as a new outsider's youth cultural alike the 20th century hippies, hipsters, punks and alternatives, with their own appearance, fashion, and ritual behavior. The nihilist style was all about looking unhealthy, inelegant

[40] The literature about Bazarov is exhaustive and includes analyses from all possible academic and literary perspectives. See for some essays outlining recent research in: Robert Reid and Joe Andrew (eds.), *Turgenev: Art, Ideology and Legacy* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

[41] Cited from a letter to A. A. Fet, in: Ivan Turgenev and Michael R. Katz, *Fathers and sons: the author on the novel: the contemporary reaction: essays in criticism* (New York: Norton, 1995), 144.

[42] James Woodward, *Turgenev's* Fathers and Sons (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press / Critical Studies in Russian Literature, 2002).

and grey. They wore the famous round, thick glasses, "folky" dress, short haircuts, grew thin moustaches, and smoked thick cigars. [43]

Generations of moderates and radicals

The coming of the nihilist generation also meant the end of a former generation. The leading figure of the generation of the 1840s was Alexander Herzen, who had started publishing his journal *Kolokol* (the Bell) in 1857. In this periodical he wrote about his suspicion towards democracy, belief in the 'Russian version' of socialism, faith in the Slavic rural community, and the idea that individual revolutionaries should dedicate themselves to the people.[44]

The circulation of *The Bell* in Russia was exceptional, since thousands of copies reached the intellectual circles of Petersburg, and it was not only them who read the articles.[45] It is known that the Tsar also read *The Bell*, curiously learning about his fiercest opponents.[46] In gentry circles it even became somehow "chic" to read *The Bell* as a gossip sheet of the progressives. As a result, Herzen's mild and moderate views on revolutions in society were becoming acceptable for a specific segment of the upper-class, which explains that *The Bell* became out of fashion among the radicals on the Left. Herzen, so to say, became one of the 'fathers'.

The Bell were strongly criticized by the writers of new journal called *Sovremmenik* (The Contemporary). The editors of *The Contemporary* were critical towards the elderly generation they considered too moderate, too pragmatic, and, above all: too aristocratic.

---

[43] The imagination of the 'nihilist' was closely related to the relatively new phenomenon of female students enrolling at university. See: Barbara Evans Clements, *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2012), 114-126; Barbara Alpern Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth Century Russia* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern UP, 2000); Natalia Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History: From the tenth to the twentieth Century* (New York: Sharpe, 1997), 201-212; Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1990).

[44] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 34.

[45] Helen Williams, "Ringing the Bell: Editor-Reader Dialogue in Alexander Herzen's *Kolokol*" *Book History* 4 (2001), 115-132: 120-122.

[46] Carr, *Romantic Exiles*, 212-213; Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 104.

For sure the rise of the raznochinchy had to do something with *The Contemporary*'s success. Herzen had a noble background, and he was a distinguished and cultivated man. Indeed, he spoke out against serfdom, but still remained a symbol of a lifestyle many raznochinchy wanted to bring to an end. Herzen was an aristocratic bon-vivant, something he did not try to hide. He even distanced himself from the zealous and serious new revolutionaries.[47] Other "gentry-rebels" like Turgenev went out for hunting, loved abundant eating and drinking, often paid with money serfs still earned for them. There was, seen from a *Contemporary* view, nothing just in that. One of the younger, rude radicals wrote in 1867 in an open letter to Herzen:

> "Yes, the younger generation has understood you. Having understood you, it has turned away from you in disgust; and you still dream that you are its guide, that you are a "power and a force in the Russian state", that you are a leader and a representative of youth. You our leader? Ha! Ha! Ha! The young generation has long outstripped you by a whole head in its understanding of facts and events."[48]

In the same open letter this radical stressed the new direction of the next generation. He addressed Herzen with: "You are a poet, a painter, an artist, a story-teller, a novelist – anything you please, but not a political leader and still less a political thinker…"[49]

The time asked for a new hero, a guiding light for a new generation. This man was the already mentioned Nikolaj Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky, a *raznochinec* indeed. In appearance and character he was the opposite of Herzen. Chernyshevsky was a serious, joyless and ascetic writer, abhorrent of the "fullness of life", or, as Lampert has put it: "Chernyshevsky's life was one of the most cheerless imaginable".[50] Even though the first circles of rebels said to want to put an end to the class-hierarchy, Chernyshevsky was welcomed 'the old way'. Gentry-

[47] Cited in: Nahirny, *The Russian Intelligentsia*, 64.
[48] Serno-Soloviech, "Our Domestic Affairs", cited in: Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, 264-265.
[49] Ibidem.
[50] Lampert, *Sons against Fathers*, 94.

rebel Tolstoy, famous anarchist and author of *War and Peace*, spoke of the raznochinec Chernyshevsky as "this gentleman who smells of bugs".[51] He was not 'one of us'. Nevertheless, this martyr-aura, the seriousness and the image of a bookworm appealed to a new generation of students. Gleason rightly argued that many students in the 1860s actually started to take pride in "smelling of bugs".[52] Chernyshevsky was also idolized because he spent almost half his life in prison and Siberian work camps. We know from contemporary subcultures that they need authentic heroes who suffer, from Che Guevara and Kurt Cobain to Julian Assange. The charismatic Chernyshevsky was this man; a patron saint for ascetic puritans, grim radicals and deliberate outsiders.

Chernyshevsky was born as the son of a priest in the province, who – once he had arrived in the city - came to the conclusion that God did not exist.[53] He subsequently converted to revolutionary ideas, which he expressed in his writings for *The Contemporary*. It brought him soon into conflict with the authorities. In the prison cell of the Peter-and-Paul prison in Petersburg he wrote his most famous novel *What is to be done?* 'Fans' smuggled the script out of prison and in 1863 it was published as a feuilleton in *The Contemporary*, by that time already a forbidden paper. The prison censors had possibly overlooked the political meaning of the book, because its story begins as some love story. The subtitle, "stories of the new people" however should have warned them, since the Tsar was no warm supporter of 'new people'.

What is to be done? is the story of 'new people'. It tells the story of revolutionaries, aware of the problems of modern times, and fighting against social injustice. The novel consists of several parts, frequently interrupted by philosophical sidesteps or ethical meditations. *What is to be done?* is, in fact, a lot: it is a love story, a pamphlet, a *Bildungsroman* and a kind of rationalist, socialist and ethical textbook for the

[51] Cited in: Gleason, *Young Russia*, 101.
[52] Ibidem, 133.
[53] Biographical portrayals of Chernyshevsky: William F. Woehrlin, *Chernyshevsky: the Man and the Journalist* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971); Irina Paperno, *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism: A study in the Semiotics of Behavior* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988); Sander Brouwer, "Tsjernysjevski en de nihilisten" *Groniek* 38 (2005) 359-370; Lampert, *Sons against Fathers*, 94-137. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 129-186; Gleason, *Young Russia*, 99-113.

revolutionary youth.[54] Chernyshevsky brings the emancipated Vera on the scene, who starts her own sewing workshop. She shares her income with her colleagues. Vera is also involved in some complicated love affairs that are not explained well. The love affairs are however not as important as the four "Dreams of Vera" about the distant future of society. These dreams present some promised land, where mutual hatred and envy is gone, where men and women are equal and everyone is working in sheer happiness.

This novel also includes a role-model for the radical students, some kind of 'new Bazarov'. His name is Rakhmetov, who, although a minor character in the narrative, represents the future revolution. Rakhmetov is a complex adolescent mainly spending his time on reading books, lots of books. With the wisdom he acquires from these books, he prepares for the revolution. He lives an ascetic life: He refrains from liquor and women and only eats raw beef, not because that makes him feel good, but because he believes it strengthens his will.[55] Chernyshevsky sees Rakhmetov as a role-model, explaining:

> "There are only a few of them, but through them one's life will flourish. Without them life would wither and go sour. There are only a few of them, but they make it possible for all people to breathe; without them, people would suffocate. There's a great mass of honest and good people, but there are very few people like them. But these few people are within that mass, as theine is in tea, as bouquet is in fine wine. They are its strength and its aroma. They are the flower

[54] See for historical and literary research about *What is to be Done?* in: Andrew M. Drozd, *Chernyshevskii's What is to be Done? A Reevaluation* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern UP, 2001), 1-19; Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaka/London: Cornell UP, 2009), 39-65; Irina Paperno, *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism: A study in the Semiotics of Behavior* (Stanford California: Stanford UP, 1988), chapter 2; N.G.O. Pereira, *The Thoughts and Teachings of N.G. Cernysevskij* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1975).

[55] Konstantine Klioutchkine, "Between Ideology and Desire: Rhetoric of the Self in the Works of Nikolay Chernyshevsky and Nikolay Dobroliobov" *Slavic Review* 68 (2009) 335-354: Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov*, 39-41.

> of the best people, the movers of the movers, the salt of the salt of the earth."[56]

Somewhere towards the end of the novel the "extraordinary man" Rakhmetov disappears from the public. The return of Rakhmetov would coincide with the revolution, although Chernyshevsky remains unclear about that (of course, the book had to pass the censors of the Peter and Paul prison in Petersburg).

What is to be done? was a literary hit. Vera and Rakhmetov became symbols of the underground resistance and icons of sacrifice and willpower. Herzen wrote about the remarkable copying of the characters of Chernyshevsky's novel and put it in a broader European context of life imitating texts:

> "This mutual interaction of people and books is a strange thing. A book takes its whole shape from society that spawns it, then generalizes the material, renders it clearer and sharper, and then is outstripped by reality. The originals make caricatures of their own sharply drawn portraits and real people take on the character of their literary shadows. At the end of the last century all German men were a little like Werther, all German women like Charlotte; at the beginning of this century the university Werthers began to turn into "Robbers" a la Schiller, not real ones. Young Russians were almost all out of *What is to be Done?* after 1862, with the addition of a few of Bazarow's traits."[57]

This observation is crucial. It helps to understand the behavior and rituals of young Bosnia, and how and why they performed themselves as they did: they were imitations of the popular Werthers, Bazarows, and Rakhmetovs.

---

[56] Nikolay Chernyshevsky (translated by Michael R. Katz), *What Is to Be Done?* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1989), 293.
[57] Cited in: Paperno, *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism*, 1.

Young Russia

During First World War, the Bosnian Serb student Vladimir Gaćinović met Leon Trotsky in a bar in Paris. They spoke about revolutionary action and the war, after which Trotsky asked Gaćinović to write some essays for him. In one of these essays Gaćinović discusses the Bosnian-Russian connection, and how he, just like his Bosnian comrades, was influenced and inspired by 'Young Russia'. He wrote:

> 'You Russians know very little about us. Much less, than we know about you…We know the history of your ideas and love them. It had a lasting imprint on us. We consider Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Lavrov and Bakunin as our most important teachers. We are a colony of your ideas…We read the novel *What is to be done?* with fierce enthusiasm, it left us in awe of the character of Rakhmetov. Because of one Rakhmetov, we loved young Russia…'[58]

It is not quite clear what Gaćinović meant with 'young Russia'. In the bibliography on the 1860s and 1870s in Imperial Russia, there are some books who refer to the generation of the 1860s with 'Young Russia'.[59] Since Gaćinović mentions at least Chernyshevsky, and the 'extraordinary man' Rakhmetov, it's possible that he thought of this group of writers.[60] It is more likely he had a more general idea in mind, when he spoke of Young Russia: a generation, possibly a "state of mind" which appealed to him. Of course, Gaćinović's Young Russia was an indirect treat to Young Italy, and Young Europe.

In case we take 'young Russia' as a generation, it must be the second, radical generation that came *after* the 'men of the 1840s', including Herzen. The second flow of émigrés in the 1860s did not go into exile to create a pleasant residence in London like Herzen had done. They were often of *raznochinec*-background and went to Europe as a matter of pure necessity, for example because they had escaped prison. In some university towns, mostly in Switzerland, they formed substantial colonies of Russian revolutionaries. In the eyes of Herzen,

[58] Trotski, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 9.
[59] Gleason's *Young Russia*, for example.
[60] Chernyshevsky is often associated with Nikolai Dobrolyubov and Dimitry Pisarev.

they had high ideals, but lacked good manners and *The Bell*'s editor was abhorrent of their proud barbarity. They were the nihilists, modelled after the literary figures of Turgenev and Chernyshevsky, and they resembled the tsarist police's image of the radical youth.

The 1860s had different phases of student activism, including violent riots and terrorist attacks, culminating in the first assault on the Tsar in 1866. In this context, in the years 1862-63 an inflammatory leaflet with the name *Young Russia* circulated in underground Russian circles. This is the only source literally referring to Young Russia. According to some scholars, this leaflet was the unserious work of status-seeking half-insane egoists, and quasi-intellectuals. [61] Nonetheless, the text would become one of the main inspiration for the first Russian terrorists.

The writer was a certain Zaichnevsky, a nineteen year old, very radical student in Moscow, and a child of lower gentry in Orel.[62] When he arrived in Moscow, he had already learned about the political writers and started to print small leaflets and pamphlets with revolutionary texts. One of the first pamphlets he brought into circulation was a text of Herzen, taken from *The Bell*. Soon other pamphlets were printed, including texts of Feuerbach, Büchner, Proudhon and Ogarev. In the clandestine library of a small circle of Kazan students in Moscow, he found, besides new material from Western socialists and anarchist, a companion in the person of the Greek-Russian Perikl(es) Argiropulo. The two agitators focused on printing pamphlets, but also went around in Russia and Poland to prepare the peasant population for the coming revolution. Driven by idealism, they organized classes in the countryside, where peasants could learn how to read and write. This particular focus on the peasantry was worked out in Zaichnevsky's ultimate work, the notorious *Young Russia*, in which he explained his visions of a future Russian society after the revolution. Part of this

[61] Jeffrey Rooney, "The Question of Revolutionary Organization in the Career of Petr Grigor'evich Zaichnevskii" *Russian Review*, 41, No. 1 (1982), 47-59: 49-50; Robert Daniels, "Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution" *American Slavic and East European Review* 20 (1961/2), 270-278: 272.

[62] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 285. Other biographical information taken from: James Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 321-323; 394-395; Rooney, "The Question of Revolutionary Organization", 47-51.

pamphlet was written in prison in 1861, where Zaichnevsky had a more or less pleasant stay, spending time with friends and colleagues, discussing politics and revolutionary actions.[63]

Zaichnevsky wrote his statements in an aggressive tone, speaking of "rivers of blood" and similar metaphors. The pamphlet stated:

> "We will move against the Winter Palace to wipe out all who dwell there. It may be that we will only have to destroy the imperial family, that is, a hundred or so people. But it may also happen, and this is more likely, that the whole imperial party, to a man, will stand behind the Tsar, because for them it will be a question of life and death. If this happens, with full faith in ourselves, in our forces, in the support of the people, in the glorious future of Russia, to whose lot it has fallen to be the first [country] to realize the great cause of socialism we will cry 'To your axes' and then ... then kill the imperial party without mercy, just as it shows no mercy for us now; kill them in the squares, if the foul scum dare to appear there; kill them in their houses; kill them in the dark by-ways of the towns; kill them in the broad avenues of the capital; kill them in the villages and the countryside!"[64]

The content of *Young Russia*, however, was more than just punk phraseology. It articulated elaborate ideas of the socialist communities of the Russian peasantry, and sketched out the reformation of the lands after the revolution. Although Zaichnevsky had read only a few Western socialist books, the text gave proof of some keen insights in the left philosophies of his time. The title, *Young Russia*, was indeed influenced by the Italian movement of Mazzini. Zaichnevsky believed in the role of youth in Russia: "But we place our chief reliance on the young. We shall conclude the present issue of the journal with an appeal to them, because they comprise all that is best in Russia, all that is vital,

[63] Moscow prison life was less inspiring for his Greek companion and comrade Argiropulo; the fellow died of typhus there. See: Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 291.
[64] *Young Russia*, in: Rooney, "The Question of Revolutionary Organization", 51-59: 59.

everything that will take the side of the movement, everything that is ready to sacrifice itself for the people's good."[65]

In *Young Russia* Zaichnevsky attacked his former idol Herzen for his indolence and passivism. [66] In turn, Herzen, but also Chernyshevsky, criticized the mysterious writers of *Young Russia* (the pamphlet was anonymous). The pamphlet received lukewarm reactions among students in Petersburg and Moscow. However, it would get a much more symbolic meaning when 1862 a great fire destroyed large parts of Petersburg's outskirts, and the Tsarist government and its loyal newspapers attributed this to the nihilists in general, and the people behind *Young Russia* in particular. They started a witch-hunt, and many assumed nihilists were arrested and sent to Siberia, including Zaichnevsky (although the Tsarist police by that time did not know he was the author of the notorious pamphlet).[67] Both the fire of Petersburg and the brutal repression of the radical students marked the preliminary end of the very short 1860s renaissance, or "spring", as Chernyshevsky had portrayed it. But the seeds of the revolt were sown.

Venturi rightly argues that *Young Russia* was both the inspiration for populism and Jacobinism in Russia. [68] The first movement, populism, was more peaceful and tried to implement the ideas as suggested by Zaichnevsky in *Young Russia*: the students should go 'to the people' to educate them. The poor peasants should be taught about their miserable living circumstances and were to be trained into revolutionaries. In 1862, Ogarev wrote in *The Bell* that the "universities must be closed", because: "To be a free man, one must go to the people".[69] In the period after 1863 the young student circles went to educate the peasant population of Russia. These events have become very famous in the paintings of Ilya Repin, showing the limits of this effort: the 'modern' dressed young nihilist intellectuals were deemed alien in the traditional, religious and loyal environment of the Russian

[65] *Young Russia*, in: Rooney, "The Question of Revolutionary Organization", 51-59: 59.
[66] *Young Russia*, in: Rooney, "The Question of Revolutionary Organization", 51-59: 54-55.
[67] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 301.
[68] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 297.
[69] Cited in: Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 231.

peasantry. Many peasants thought the atheist students were 'satanic' and 'criminal' and turned them over to the police.

Tsarist police had no other measures for these *narodniki* (populists) than severe repression. The political atmosphere had turned paranoid. The peaceful actions of the young propagandists on the Russian countryside thus rapidly radicalized. Violent action seemed the most accurate answer to challenge the government. This was already articulated in the pamphlet *Young Russia*: "A revolution, a bloody and pitiless revolution…must change everything down to the very roots…"[70] In Stepniak's *Underground Russia* this development was described like a new phase: "Upon the horizon there appeared a gloomy form, illuminated by a light as of hell, who, with lofty bearing, and a look breathing forth hatred and defiance, made his way through the terrified crowd to enter with a firm step upon the scene of history. It was the Terrorist".[71]

Terrorism: Karakozov and Nechaev

The birth of terror in Tsarist Russia has been the subject of scholarly debate, especially since 9/11 and as part of the tsunami of publications in the terrorism debate.[72] Recently Claudia Verhoeven claimed that the first terrorist act, and thus the 'birth of terrorism', was not with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, but with the failed assassination attempt of 1866.[73] However, one could claim that the idea of regicide (which it, in fact, was) in Russia was much older, since several Tsars had been killed by enemies and opponents.[74] What was actually new about the assassination attempt of 1866 was the fact that the assassin was no member of nobility or any other political class: young Dimitry Karakozov was a troubled, possibly depressed figure

[70] Cited in: Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men*, 395.
[71] Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, 28-29.
[72] See, for example: Gerard Chalian and Arnaud Blin (eds.), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 95-112; Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (London: Harper, 2009), 27-66.
[73] Verhoeven, *The odd Man Karakozov*, 5-6.
[74] See: Helene Carrere D'Encausse, *The Russian Syndrome: One Thousand Years of Political Murder* (New York: Holmes & Meijer, 1992). Original French ed. 1988.

(and alcoholic) in the margins of Russian society. He had learned about the Tsar, nihilism and terrorism through pamphlets, media and propaganda. Verhoeven considers the failed attempt of Karakozov therefore the ultimate beginning of terrorism, since it includes all the ingredients of a 'modern political murder': a media-reality, the governmental imagination of a secret conspiracy in society, and, eventually, a policy was made out of it.[75]

Early terrorism in Russia may be explained as a combination of old-fashioned regicide, the tradition of violent peasant revolt and a modern, new interpretation of "political struggle". However, there were aspects of delinquency added to it, as is best illustrated in the case of Sergey Nechaev, the wandering terrorist-criminal. Sergey Nechaev was as a son of the middle-class, a prototypical *raznochinec*, who was schooled in Moscow and Petersburg. His arrival in the capital coincided with Karakozov's failed assassination of the Tsar, and most probably this event had planted the idea of terrorism in his mind. After Karakozov's assassination attempt, the Russian government hunted for nihilists and propagandists, and believed that a large conspiracy was to be revealed and eliminated. In reaction, some of the opponents of the regime began founding their own secret societies in order to resemble the images of the Tsarist police. Nechaev was one of them, and since he was monitored by the police he decided to leave the country in order not to be hindered in his criminal fantasies. He sought contact with Bakunin in Switzerland, and via Bakunin with other important émigré's like Herzen, and Ogarev. In Switzerland the revolutionary giant Bakunin fell under the spell of the young, zealous and aggressive boy from the Russian periphery, and they started collaborating in creating secret societies and conspiracies.[76] "Nechaevism" later would be the term for a system of imaginary networks of non-existing revolutionary cells, plotting against the rule of the Tsar.[77] In any case, both Bakunin and Nechaev were blinded by this unhealthy mutual friendship and became overwhelmed by their shared illusions of inventing world-wide revolutionary network with colorful names like the *European*

[75] Ibidem.
[76] Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, 292-293.
[77] Verhoeven, *Odd man Karakozov*, 51, 52.

Revolutionary Alliance and the *International Revolutionary World Union*.

Nechaev, however, was an unscrupulous and immoral person, not hesitant to use the naivety of his mentor Bakunin or even the great patron Alexander Herzen, and it is still questionable to this day to what extent he was genuine in his idealism.[78] In Switzerland Bakunin's anarchism formed an explosive alliance with Nechaev's nihilism, which formed the basic concept for a terrorist pamphlet they wrote in 1869, called: *The Catechism of the Revolutionary*. This text became the blueprint for many terrorists in the 1870s and 1880s and would even be used as a manual for the ultimate terrorist by 20th century radical movements.[79] These pamphlets for sure inspired the young Bosnians. In 1913 Vladimir Gaćinović sent a translation of Nechaev's text to the editors of the Slovenian anti-Austrian student journal *Preporod* (Revival), informing them about new tactics.[80] The famous lines of the Catechism have often been cited as the guiding principle of any terrorist, and I quote them here: "The nature of the true revolutionary has no place for any romanticism, any sentimentality, rapture or enthusiasm. It has no place for personal hatred or vengeance. The revolutionary passion, which in him becomes a habitual state of mind, must at every moment be combined with cold calculation. Always and everywhere he must not be what the promptings of his personal inclinations would have him be, but what the general interest of the revolution prescribes"[81]

The radicalization of some Russian students happened in the last years of the 1870s and was finalized during the Trial of the 193 in the winter of 1877-78, when both violent and peaceful propagandists

[78] A rather mild portrayal in: Paul Avrich, *Bakunin and Nechaev* (London: Freedom Press, 1974) and in E.H. Carr, *Bakunin* (London: MacMillan Press, 1975), 375-393: 375-376. The more critical approaches by: Bob de Graaf, *Op weg naar Armageddon: De evolutie van fanatisme* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012), 286-297; Burleigh, *Blood and Rage*, 36-40. Nechaev's advances to Alexander Herzen's daughter Natalya are documented in: Michael Confino (ed.), *Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin-Nechayev Circle* (London: Alcove Press, 1974).
[79] Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1988), 51.
[80] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 289.
[81] Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Terrorism Reader: a historical anthology* (New York: Meridian, 1978), 69.

were sentenced. By that time the populist movement *Zemlia i Volya* (Land and Liberty) went through a rapid transformation and split into a terrorist and non-terrorist section. The terrorist section would develop into *Narodnaia Volya* (The People's Will), succeeding in 1881 where Karakozov had failed: they killed Tsar Alexander in Petersburg with a bomb. All members of the *People's Will* were persecuted, sentenced to death, exiled or forced to flee and go into hiding. In reaction, the deployment of police was increased and the Okhrana proceeded its activities through infiltration in the radical movements. These Tsarist reactions made the *People's Will* disappear completely and further distribution of revolutionary ideas became difficult and dangerous. Since Alexander II's liberal policy was also abandoned, it seemed the youth renaissance was finally crushed. But it rather turned out to be a pause, and the 'heroes' of the People's Will were not forgotten. They were glorified by an increasing number of young émigré's in the Russian enclaves of Geneva and, to a lesser extent, in Paris.

The Swiss connection

Although the *People's Will* had always looked at European affairs as a main inspiration, they kept their focus on Russian domestic affairs. However, after the trials of the late 1880s, the ideas of the *People's Will* travelled to the West following the routes of individual refugees, and political émigré's. Revolutionary Russians formed enclaves in Paris and Geneva. The latter city had a more close-knitted network, for a variety of reasons, including the presence of Russian émigrés, the smaller size of the city and the fact that Swiss authorities were reluctant to collaborate with Tsarist secret service.

When Herzen had moved back from London to Geneva in 1864 he already had experienced the animosity of the new generation, and he realized the young had developed a political vision of bitterness and violence. He wrote: "Geneva is impossible, or at any rate almost impossible, owing to these busy-bodies and intriguers. Perhaps they are well-meaning people, but their self-importance blackens the landscape."[82] His journal *The Bell* moved to Geneva, but this turned out

[82] Cited in: Carr, *Romantic Exiles*, 259.

to be a failure.[83] The French editions were supposed to reach a wider, international audience, but almost no Swiss reader was interested.

In Geneva, Zurich and Lausanne, the Russian radical students flocked together in the last decades of the 19th century. When a new terrorist wave of attacks started in the early 1890s, after which some important member of Land and Liberty had returned from Siberia, some of the most important cells of the terrorist network were to be found in the Swiss cities. In 1902 in Russia the Socialist-Revolutionary Party was founded, who claimed to be the successors of the *People's Will*. The Socialist-Revolutionaries (SR's) combined the glorification of violence and peasant idealism. These SR's in Switzerland taught Vladimir Gaćinović about the combination of terrorism and peasant emancipation. Later he wrote about the new insights he had gained from his conversations with his befriended SR's in the bars of Lausanne:

> "I lost my faith, helplessly and puzzled, but this void can be filled again … this is an ideology of yeast and chaotic, busy and hot, hazy and ambiguous. [...] Time has come to talk about new methods in the Serbian lands [...]. If we will be strong, with a strong faith and conviction, we can make an army of dead Serbs that won't be lazy, but lively, won't dream but will be active and will awaken us from the state of apathy. We hope that we can carry out something. I have great confidence in it."[84]

The SR's were the link between Russian émigré-writers, revolutionaries and the Bosnian youth. The link was made through the routes of Vladimir Gaćinović and the SR's in Switzerland. This will be discussed in the third chapter.

Conclusions: The Russian connection

It may seem curious to pay so much attention to the development of radicalism among the youth of a country that is so distant from Bosnia,

[83] Nadja Bontadina, *Alexander Herzen und die Schweiz: Das Verhältnis des russischen Publizisten und Aristokraten zur einzigen Republik im Europa seiner Zeit* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 289-291.
[84] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 79.

both culturally and geographically. But there are some good reasons to do so. The radical Bosnian students got their inspiration from here and everywhere, but for them the quintessence of a movement of the young was the radical intelligentsia in Russia. That is why I spent extra attention to the formation and rise of the nihilists and especially to the novel *What is to be done?* - The book read by many young Bosnians.[85] Literature did not only reflect on the Russian student movement, but also formed and shaped them. Herzen had observed this in his own time, and later historians and cultural scholars agreed with him. Also young Bosnians seemed to have walked out of Chernyshevsky's novel. The young writer Borivoje Jevtić's portrayal of a meeting of students in Sarajevo obviously was inspired by the stories of Dostoevsky, and the illustrious nihilists as depicted in *Demons* and *Notes from the Underground*:

> "I will never forget our nightly meetings in a room where Gaćinović was living - in a small, narrow attic with wooden beams. He would read 'The Dream of Mandušić' by Vuk Stefanović or a text by [Jean Marie] Guyeu (...). Danilo Ilić, who usually sat besides Gaćinović, taught us about the 'Seven who were hanged' by Leonid Andreyev (...) Everyone was smoking. There was vigorous debate, with great belief. Gaćinović was speaking (...) and Ilić was forging plans. In his imagination we destroyed rail constructions, we let tunnels explode with dynamite, and people were jumping on barricades. But in each of his words we could trace a sense of irony…Shortly before Gaćinović would go back to Belgrade, two immature boys would join this group, they actually were still children. They were Gavrilo Princip and Dragutin Mras. They sat on the side and were silent all the time. They saw Gaćinović as some kind of deity."[86]

Contours of Chernyshevsky's 'extraordinary man' Rakhmetov can also be identified in the descriptions of the leading young Bosnian activist Danilo Ilić, who acted as a mentor to Gavrilo Princip: "His trousers

[85] According to Dedijer, the assassin Nedeljko Čabrinović read Chernyshevsky too, in bed at home in Sarajevo: *Sarajevo 1914,* I, 246.
[86] Cited in: *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, 154.

were tattered and he had worn elbows on his jacket, he had a yellowish face, a curved spine and a high forehead... We saw him as a friend who has experienced and had lived through a lot".[87] A similar depiction of Vladimir Gaćinović was written by a contemporary: "He did not join the poets nor the artists, but only the fighters…he could only think of the greater cause … with his sweeping glance, from eyes that blaze with fire….but when you approached him, you could see in his gaze so much kindness, which made you realize: in this Herzegovinian you can find a real Slavic Soul."[88]

So much for the self-imagining and glorification of the Bosnian radical youth. If we want to come a bit closer to a clear understanding of the Russian and Bosnian circumstances we must compare. All in all, the Russian situation in many respects differed radically from the Bosnian. The landowning Bosnian begs, for example, were nothing compared to the Russian gentry. Too, Bosnia was, unlike Russia, controlled by a non-local and foreign Austro-Hungarian power. But there are also similarities. The pace of modernization in Russia as it took place in the second half of the 19th century is comparable to that of Bosnia around the end of the century. The rapid upward mobility of youngsters from lower classes via the educational system caused tensions. Another aspect is the dynamic interaction between the first and the second generation. Herzen was overtaken by more radical youth from the lower classes, who used his work for their own purpose and, consequently, pushed the limit. This was similar in Bosnia, especially in the Bosnian Serb community where figures like Aleksa Šantić – mostly decent poets and sons of the wealthy upper class – were succeeded by radicals with greater zeal and *Sturm und Drang*.

[87] Kosta Krajšumović, 'Veleizdajnički Proces u Banjoj Luci' *Politika* 23/9/1929.
[88] Augustin Ujević, cited in: Parežanin, *Die Attentäter*, 16-17.

4.2 Cultural transfer: Revolutionaries in Bosnia

To what extent was the Russian connection existent? There were, for sure, connections. But they were not as close as it seemed. There were at least two routes. The first route was via Belgrade, Serbia's capital city. Herzen's *The Bell* was often sent by packages on steamboats from Vienna down the Danube, to the Black Sea, where it would be shipped to Odessa and then further to Moscow and Petersburg. Of course some of these copies of *The Bell* stayed in Novi Sad and Belgrade.[89] In Belgrade, the 'moral' support of Great Russia was felt among the political elite. Hence, Russophilia was quite common among politicians, especially those who had studied in the Tsarist Empire. But it was not so much the top-down contact between the Serbian kings and Russian emperors, as well the intellectual network of students going abroad that really enhanced some cultural transfer. The second route, therefore, was via Switzerland and the loose network of Russian émigré's in Western Europe. After the Serbian liberal intellectual and politician Vladimir Jovanović had met Herzen in London, he founded himself an émigré-periodical in Switzerland called *Sloboda/Liberté* (the periodical was bilingual: Serbian and French).[90] Inspired by the ideas of Young Russians, he helped the United Serbian Youth in Southern Hungary in setting up new newspapers, including the widely read *Zastava* (The Flag). Other connections between Bosnian-Serb and Serb students who were integrated in the Russian émigré-circles of the Swiss university towns will be discussed in the next, second chapter, giving a broader picture not so much of the imagined connections, but of the contacts in reality.

[89] Monica Partridge, "Alexander Herzen and the South Slav Liberation Movements of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: Some Observations and Comments" *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 56, No. 3 (1978), 360-370:368.
[90] Partridge, "Alexander Herzen and the South Slavs", 368.

All in all, the connections were made not only through printed media and publishing, but via personal contacts. In what follows I will discuss the cultural transfer of Russian ideas and developments to the context of Bosnia, following the routes of individual persons.

Stepniak in Bosnia

Russian styled terrorism did not exist in Bosnia until 1910, although a lot of violence had taken place, like peasant riots and partisan warfare. Stepniak's illustrious 'terrorist' who seemingly appeared 'at the horizon' to fight injustice and inequality was an urban phenomenon. The question is how this new radical reached the rural environment of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Stepniak, in fact, had been in Bosnia. Before he would settle in London to live the life of a darling-rebel of the British upper-class, he shortly experienced a Bosnian war.[91] In 1875 during the Bosnian uprising he volunteered for the četa (guerrilla)-warfare against the Ottomans, believing he could bring socialism in the Balkans. He was not the only Russian volunteering in Bosnia. Stepniak was accompanied by Dimitry Klemens (who is portrayed in *Underground Russia*) and Andrey Zhelyabov – one of the founding members of *the People's Will*.[92] According to Dedijer there were many other important Russian nihilists and terrorists in Bosnia, including Michail Sazhin, Orest Gebel, and Sergey Nechaev.[93] These statements are however not based on reliable sources.

It is possible that Stepniak's ideas of armed struggle took shape during the uprising in Bosnia, where he witnessed (and - possibly - perpetrated) violence.[94] But there was, according to Stepniak, not much room for intellectual propaganda in the Bosnian mayhem. He

[91] James W. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London: A study of Five Unorthodox Socialists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 29-52; Charles Moser, "A Nihilist Career: S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinskij" *American Slavic and East European Review* 20 no. 1 (1961), 55-71: 52.
[92] Butterworth, *The World That Never Was: A True Story of Dreamers, Schemers, Anarchists, and Secret Agents* (London: Bodley Head, 2010), 109.
[93] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume 1*, 68.
[94] Not much is known about the activities of Stepniak in Bosnia, but we can assume they were rather insignificant. Butterworth writes that his war activities were limited to the command over "one single cannon". Butterworth, *World that Never Was*, 109.

complained in several letters to his friends in Russia that there was "not even the faintest whiff of socialism" in Bosnia, although, as he admitted in another letter that it would be a good place to "lead socialist propaganda".[95] In other letters he described the Bosnian insurgents as a "gang of ordinary bandits".[96]

Stepniak was one of the many foreign volunteers. The 1875 uprising in Bosnia, which was immediately followed by the Serbian and Montenegrin (and Bulgarian) wars against the Ottoman Empire and, eventually, by the Berlin Congress, was, besides a local affair, a gathering of internationalists. The guerrilla fights during the Bosnian crisis therefore must be seen also within the context of a Europe-wide rebellious fever making the authorities feel nervous. A few years earlier the turnover of the Paris Commune had taken place (preceded by the Franco-Prussian War) and the idea that a revolution could be made was still present in the minds of many troublemakers.[97] When in 1872 Bakunin and his followers were expelled from *The International* conference in The Hague, and consequently the socialists and anarchists split into two ideological directions, new revolutionary actions were about to be planned. Not the least because Bakunin had radicalized over the years and increasingly believed in the force of destruction, constantly seeking young radical adolescents who were willing to participate in his grandiose schemes.[98]

The majority of the volunteers in the Bosnian Uprising were from Italy. The flamboyant Garibaldi had rebelled on both sides of the Atlantic and subsequently supported revolts from all over the continent, so it was no coincidence his followers volunteered for fighting Turks in the Bosnian Mountains. In 1875-6 many Garibaldini crossed the Adriatic Sea. The Bosnian Uprising meant a networking event for European internationalists, with the Garibaldini as the ultimate mediators of a pan-European revolutionary network. Besides Russians and Italians, there was also mentioning of French, English, Americans,

[95] Butterworth, *World That Never Was*, 110.
[96] Ibidem.
[97] Dimitrije Djordjević, "La Commune de Paris et les Yougoslaves" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 19, No. 2 (1972), 345-353: 351-353.
[98] E.H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (London: MacMillan Press, 1975), 443-461.

Germans, and Czechs.[99] Quite remarkable was the role of the pious Dutch Miss Jenny Merkus, who was made a leader of the četa during the Bosnian uprising and reached an almost holy status in the Serbian culture of memory.[100]

These volunteers came to Bosnia for a variety of reasons. First, they often had political and geographical interests. For example the 'men of the Risorgimento' considered most enemies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as friends, and thus allies of Italy.[101] For Russians, there were several motivations, varying from international socialist agitation to traditional orthodox Pan Slavism. Another reason was not that pragmatic, but rather idealistic, or, say, romantic. Since political action was severely suppressed in Russia, and since the Italian rebels had had their glorious revolution already behind them, Bosnia offered a great opportunity for those willing to spend all their life fighting for a greater cause. They were 'professional rebels' who wanted to continue their 'great deeds'.[102] This can be compared with the activities of 20th century revolutionaries like Che Guevarra, who after the Cuban revolution volunteered for actions in other South American countries, and in distant Africa. For the volunteers from Serbia proper, the motivation was of another kind. Many Serbs volunteering for the ćeta were nationalists, both young and old, who believed in the south-Slavic struggle and they hoped to finally wipe off the proverbial Turkish yoke.

The Bosnian uprisings and the subsequent Serbian (and Bulgarian, Montenegrin, etc.) war against the Turks (1875-1876) meant a very short but important acceleration of cultural transfer from several corners of Europe to Bosnia. It was a networking event. The mixture of revolutionary thoughts and leftish idealism of the international volunteers with the rural traditionalism of the peasant resistance would remain a powerful concept, and a model of inspiration for the young Bosnians.

---

[99] Rene Grémaux and Wim van den Bosch, *Mystica met kromzwaard: het opzienbarende leven van Jenny Merkus (1839-1897)* (Delft: Eburon, 2014), 146, Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914*, I, 70.
[100] Ibidem.
[101] Eric Terzuolo, "The Garibaldini in the Balkans", *International History Review* 4 no. 1 (1982) 111-126: 115.
[102] Terzuolo, "The Garibaldini", 126.

Italians

Italians were not new in Bosnia. Some connections between the cultures on both sides of the Adriatic had existed longer. Dalmatian culture was dominated by an Italian-speaking elite, and many Balkan guerrilla-leaders, like Mićo Ljubibratić, had fought in the Italian war of independence. Moreover, the Serbian nationalist ideologues looked at the Italian unification as a prime example of something that might once take place in Southeast Europe: the unification of South Slavs under the guidance of autonomous Serbia, just as the unification of Italy was initiated in the region of Piemonte.[103] Mazzini had expressed his worries about the fate of the South Slavs in several of his writings.

The cultural friendship had become imaginable in the colorful figure of Garibaldi, who claimed to fight in the spirit of Young Italy. He had expressed his support for the South Slavs in the 1860s, more particularly for the uprising of 1862 led by Bosnian Luka Vukalović.[104] In return the rebels in Hercegovina asked for his help. Besides his moral support in a number of open letters to the 'brethren' of the Balkans and Eastern Europe, no troops nor bands were sent, but, in contrast, some Serbian rebels fought in Italy for the unification. On another, more political level, Giuseppe Mazzini, the father of the Italian Risorgimento, had met the Serbian liberal politician and writer Vladimir Jovanović.[105] Jovanović took inspiration from Young Italy, when he founded the United Serbian Youth back home. According to MacKenzie, the "ideological preparation for the Serbian national struggle of 1875-1878 was largely the work of the *Omladina* [United Serbian Youth]" (see part I).[106] The United Serbian Youth were modelled after the Young Italians, and they copied their cultural-political style and the system of spreading ideas through publishing both literary and political texts.[107] This movement, which has been discussed in the previous part, would in turn

[103] MacKenzie, *The Serb and Russian Panslavism*, 7-15.
[104] Terzuolo, "The Garibaldini", 115-116; Sarti, "Mazzini and Young Europe", 298.
[105] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914* I, 65.
[106] MacKenzie, *Serb and Russian Panslavism*, 15.
[107] Tatjana Marković, "Political, Cultural, Artistic Activities of the Ujedinjena Omladina" *Kakanien Revisited* 16/08/2004
http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/ncs/TMarković1.pdf [accessed february 2015]

be an inspiration for the young Bosnians after 1900.[108] Obviously, the title of one of the association's periodical *Mlada Srbadija* (The Young Serbian) referred directly to the works of Mazzini, and foreboded *Mlada Bosna*.

Another inspiration from Italy formed the anarchists, although this movement was in the first place guided by the ideas of Proudhon from France, and Bakunin from Russia. However, it was in Italy where Bakunin's thoughts found much resonance among the younger generation. The popularity of anarchism in the Mediterranean region had to do with the absence of a well-developed urban proletariat as it existed in England and Belgium. Another good precondition may have been the tradition of peasant rebellions.[109] Bakunin's close acquaintance Errico Malatesta, who coined the 'Propaganda of the deed', seemingly tried to reach Bosnia to volunteer for the Uprising, but was apparently rejected twice at the border.[110] Malatesta was a prime example of a wandering revolutionary, who abandoned Italy for good in 1878. His numerous travels had brought him to Switzerland, England, Rumania, Spain, Argentina, and France. In 1876, shortly after the Bosnian Uprising, Malatesta met Stepniak and they joined their efforts in setting up actions for raising revolt in Italy. The connections between the Russian Stepniak and the Italian Malatesta were made through the Russian radical circles in Geneva and Zurich, where Bakunin was staying at that time. The Russian ideologue Lavrov observed in these days that the name on the lips of every young Russian in Zurich was that of Michael Bakunin.[111] Malatesta wrote: "It was impossible for a youth to have contact with Bakunin without feeling

[108] Diana Mishkova, "Balkan Liberalisms: Historical Routes of a Modern Ideology" in: Diana Mishkova and Roumen Daskalov (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume II: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 99-198: 144.

[109] These are Eric Hobsbawm's conclusions in: *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Norton, 1965), 94.

[110] I think this is implausible, but it is reported on several anarchist websites, for example in the Kate Sharp Library: Trivo Indic, "The Anarchist Tradition on Yugoslav Soil", originally published in Italian in: *Umanità Nova*, 27 May 1990. http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/1c5bbd [accessed February 2016].

[111] Cited in: Carr, *Bakunin*, 453.

himself inflamed by a sacred fire, without seeing his own horizons broadened, without seeing himself a knight of a noble cause."[112]

These remarks show how the idea of 'youth' was becoming a real political *topos*. After the generation of Herzen, and more particularly his role of a guiding light of the progressives, was dismissed by a new generation of rude radicals, the youthfulness was turned into a political statement and attitude, which would not leave the discourse of activists. The transfer of this 'youthfulness' and the ideas of the Young Movements from Italy to different corners of Europe went often via the routes of living links like Bakunin, who supported the bravado of his much younger fellow-revolutionaries.

Other Russians

Bakunin was an advocate of pan-Slavism in the Ottoman and Austrian Empires and strived for a strong revolutionary pan-Slavic network in Europe. Herzen sometimes ridiculed the unpronounceable names of Bakunin's central and eastern European comrades and in a similarly ironical tone he wrote about his friend's zealous activism, when he would visit him in London:

> "…he would throw himself down at his desk, sweep a small space clear of tobacco ash, and begin to write five, ten, fifteen letters to Semipalatinsk and Arad, to Belgrade and to Constantinople, to Bessarabia, Moldavia and White Russia. In the middle of a letter he would throw down his pen in order to refute some reactionary Dalmatian: then, without finishing his speech, he would seize his pen and go on writing."[113]

Bakunin had attended the pan-Slav congress in 1848 in Prague as the only Russian participant, where he impressed especially the South-Slavic delegates because of his gigantic appearance and inciting speeches.[114] In Prague, however, he took a very critical stance, since he

[112] Malatesta, cited in: Butterworth, *The World That Never Was*, 111.
[113] Cited in: Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, 221-222.
[114] Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism*, 198; Lawrence Orton, *The Prague Slav Congress of 1848* (New York: Boulder, 1978), 94-98; Jelena Milojkovic-

feared many Slavs in Europe would desperately turn their hope to the Russian government. Bakunin deemed the Tsarist regime as pure evil, so he warned his audience in Prague that they should forget about Russia and believe in their own strength. In turn, he believed that after 1848 the bourgeoisie had turned counter-revolutionary, and that the sole hope lied in the working-class of Europe, and, additionally, the peasantry of Russia. If Pan-Slavism would ever become a reality, Bakunin suggested the formation of a federation of Slav republics in Central and Eastern Europe.[115] He warned the South Slavic orthodox population, and especially the Serbs, for their unhealthy Russophilia that could make them voluntarily turn into vassals of Tsarist Russia.[116]

Bakunin's reflections treat the clear distinction between progressive and conservative Pan-Slavism. In the Russian orthodox Pan-Slavism of the conservatives Serbia was addressed in a patronizing tone of superiority. Serbia, as a Russian pamphlet wrote in 1860, should follow the "elder brother" and stick to the traditional orthodoxy in order to liberate themselves.[117] Later, a Russian conservative writer visited the Balkans and was abhorrent of the "European Poison" infiltrating the Serbian lands.[118] Sympathy for the South Slavs was thus double-faced: some Russians sympathized with the Serbs in Turkey because of their religion, others because they simply believed the South Slavs should be freed from any tyranny.

When in 1875 the news of the Uprising in Bosnia had reached Russian intellectual circles, several writers expressed their sympathy for the Slavs on the Balkans: Turgeneev, Uspensky, Dostoevsky, Korolenko and Tolstoy were just a few of them.[119] Peter Tchaikovsky composed the famous *March Slaves* to honor the wounded Serbian soldiers. Russian reactions intensified when in 1876 Serbia, Montenegro and other Balkan nations declared war.[120] In Petersburg the

---

Djuric, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830-1880: Image of the Self and Others* (New York: Boulder, 1994), 42.
[115] Carr, *Bakunin*, 170.
[116] Orton, *The Prague Slav Congress of 1848*, 95.
[117] MacKenzie, *Serb and Russian Panslavism*, 10.
[118] Ibidem.
[119] Milojkovic-Djuric, *Panslavism*, 99.
[120] Astrid Tuminez, *Russian Nationalism since 1856: Ideology and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Lanham: Rowman, 2000) 92.

mood was exalted and Pan-Slavs did their best to remind all Russians of the holy, historical calling to liberate the brethren Slavs from the Islamic yoke. In these wars of the Eastern Crisis, many Russian soldiers went to Bosnia and Serbia. In 1876 the Russian general Michail Cherniaev went to Serbia to be appointed as commander of a joint Serbian-Russian army.[121] This Cherniaev was a fanatic advocate of conservative Panslavism, which he expressed in his newspaper *Russkiy Mir* (The Russian World). On the eve of war he wrote: "We are fighting…for the holy cause of Slavdom…for freedom…for the Orthodox cross…Long live the Unity of the Balkan peoples!".[122] Cherniaev would become a friend of the Serbian King, but not that much of the Serbian people, since the Serbian-Russian army was far from successful and lost several battles against the Turks.

Russian conservative Panslavism was thus brought to Bosnia with the fire and sword of Cherniaev's army. His soldiers believed in not so much of a Slav, as well a Russian victory. The very Russo centric perspective on the Balkan quarrels was expressed later by Dostoevsky in his typical bewildered tone:

> "Now, do you think the Slavs have finally understood this present war, a war of the whole Russian people, headed by the Tsar…But later, when we have liberated them and they have somehow settled, will they think of this war as a great exploit undertaken for their liberation. Well, they will never recognize this! On the contrary, they will assert, first as a political and later as a scientific truth, that had there been no liberatrix Russia during all these one hundred years, they would have managed long ago to free themselves from the Turks by their own valor, or with the help of Europe…"[123]

Reflections of a Bosnian

How did all these 'internationals' influence the Bosnian society? There are some sources shedding light on the acculturation process between

[121] David MacKenzie, *The Lion of Tashkent: The Career of General M.G. Cherniaev* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974), 117-131.
[122] Cited in: MacKenzie, *Serb and Russian Panslavism*, 101.
[123] Dostoevsky's *Diary of a Writer*, Vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), 897-900, cited in: Milojkovic-Djuric, *Panslavism*, 123.

the ‘internationals’ and the Bosnians. Noteworthy are the writings of Vaso Pelagić, one of the commanders of the Bosnian Uprising in 1875 was, who enjoyed a part of his education in Russia. I will discuss some of his own observations in these paragraphs.

Pelagić was born into a middle-class family and he received his primary and secondary education in Sarajevo and in Belgrade. Afterwards he studied in Moscow, between 1863 and 1865, during the most turbulent years of the student movements and the reforms of the Tsar. Not many Bosnian studied at that time in Russia; according to archival research there were only 20 students from Bosnia in the decade between 1857 and 1869.[124] Possibly he met there with other East European Slavs like the Bulgarians and, of course, the Serbs.[125]

When Pelagić returned to Bosnia he was appointed the Archimandrite of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Banjaluka and participated in the national revival of the Bosnian Serbs. Because of his activism, the Ottoman authorities arrested him and sent him to a labor camp in Asia Minor. With the help of Russian friends he could escape to Odessa and travel to autonomous Serbia. There he became a member of the United Serbian Youth. Through this movement he became inspired by democratic and liberal ideas, which would have a lasting influence on his political orientation in the second half of his life. In 1873, in the liberal youth-oriented newspaper *Zastava* (The Flag), he publicly announced to leave the Orthodox Church to become a secular atheist activist.

His care for Bosnia was more pragmatic and realistic than idealistic. He wrote: “The Bosnian and Hercegovinian … are fighting … for their material well-being and for their rights and freedom. The Bosnian peasant would not be willing to give even his chickens for the

[124] Andreas Moritsch, “Review of: Dinaida Poplyko, *Vasa Pelagič i Rossija: Iz istorii serbskoj revoljucionnoj mysli*“ *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 34 nr. 4 (1986), 603-604: 604.

[125] There were relatively many Bulgarians and Serbs in Moscow: Viktor Karasev, Ivan Kostjuško, Luiza Utkina, “Ausländische Studenten aus slawischen Ländern an der Moskauer Universität in der 2. Hälfte des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts” in: Plaschka and Mack (eds.), *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes* II, 241-249: 242.

realization of Pan-Slavism not to speak of some greater sacrifices."[126] When he stood at the head of the Bosnian ćeta in the Uprising of 1875 he thought he fought for the liberation and economic progress of the poor peasants, not for grand ideas of Pan-Slavism or socialism. After the Bosnian Uprisings and the Serbian-Turkish wars and the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, he stayed some time in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia. However, because of his fierce critique towards the new government, he was forced to leave for Serbia, where he died (in prison) in 1899.

In his writings on the Bosnian Uprising he vividly described the international volunteers. About the Pan-Slavs he said: "The Russian patriots roared down via the mouth of Cherniaev and Fadejev, and the Serbian through of narrow-minded and paid journalists and writers: Slavdom! Slavdom! The struggle for the grand idea of Slavdom! Long live the great Slavdom! Death to the barbarous blood-thirsty Asian Turks! Etc."[127] Pelagić's sarcasm cannot be ignored: he was no admirer of Pan-Slavism. He emphasized that most peasants in the Russian Empire were suffering more than those in the Ottoman Empire, and that the political restrictions under the Tsarist regime were much crueler than in Turkish Bosnia.[128] He knew from personal experience that a dissident in the Ottoman Empire could stay alive if arrested. In Russia, this was not the case.

Interestingly, in his observations of the Russian volunteers in the conflicts in Bosnia, he distinguished between the old and new generations, between the 'good' and the 'bad' Russians, as he had learned about during his stay in Moscow in the 1860s. For example, the good-hearted nurses and doctors who did valuable work, were, according to Pelagić, coming "from the ranks of communists, socialists, or 'nihilists', as they are called in Russia."[129]

As a Bosnian-Serb he was also very negative about the volunteers from Serbia, especially because the Serbian media was

[126] NBS - Vasa Pelagić, *Istorija Bosansko-Ercegovačke Bune u svezi za Srpsko- i Rusko-Turskim ratom (Studija za narod i državnike* (Budapest: Štamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879), 77.
[127] NBS - Pelagić, *Istorije bosansko-ercegovačke bune*, 76.
[128] Ibidem, 76-77.
[129] Ibidem, 85.

constantly speaking out for solidarity with brethren Serbs in the regio: "Most Slavs, notwithstanding their capacities, responded poorly to the call for help by sending troops: besides the usual clutter of journalists, the cheers from bars and the expressions of sympathy, the Serbs equipped not even 6000 people to help us. Among them were three and a half thousand Russian volunteers…who were circulating, and possibly there were less of them."[130]

Croatian and Serbian solidarity with the Bosnian peasants was, according to Pelagić, often beside the point. He doubted about the honesty of the continuous exclamation of medieval empires and references to nationalism: "The rebellious people would not give their souls nor money to receive the crown of the 'great' Zvonimir or the 'mighty' Dušan."[131] Pelagić considered especially the irrational hatred of Croats and Serbs against Turks as something which could not be related to a struggle for freedom and a better life: "Basically we need to stand up against the barbarous bloodshed and shameless hatred of people against people, of persons against persons. This a holy duty, for the people's leaders, for the spiritual guidance and for political representatives."[132]

In short: Pelagić preferred a fight for social justice above a nationalist struggle. These 'progressive' ideas were most probably the fruits of his years at the Russian universities, but they had been developed further under influence of the United Serbian Youth.[133] It is therefore important to briefly elaborate here on the biography of the socialist pioneer Svetozar Marković, without whose ideas Pelagić would have written differently. Svetozar Marković arrived in 1866 in Petersburg, one year after Pelagić had left Moscow. In Petersburg he witnessed the waning influence of Herzen's generation, and the emerge of the new radicals around Chernyshevsky.[134] Especially the latter's focus on the liberation of the peasantry inspired Marković. Between 1866 and 1869 he studied in Petrograd, where he turned into an

[130] Ibidem, 85.
[131] Ibidem, 86.
[132] Ibidem, 87.
[133] Gale Stokes, *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in 19th Century Serbia* (London: Duke UP, 1990), 91.
[134] Latinka Perović, *Srpski Socijalisti 19. Veka* (Belgrade: Rad, 1985), 175.

advocate of Panslavism. After 1869 he followed the well-known route from Russia to Switzerland and settled in Zurich where he was warmly welcomed in the small Serbian community, and, above all, in the closely connected network of Russian political émigrés.[135] In his Swiss years, he developed his belief in activism and leftish socialism and in 1870 he began writing articles for Bakunin's revolutionary journal *Narodnoe Delo* (The People's Work).

Serbian historian Latinka Perović has rightly emphasized that the writings of Marković in these times breathed a similar spirit like those of the Russian revolutionaries of the 1860s and 1870s: he strongly believed the youth would bring emancipation, education and the society as a whole on a higher level.[136] His ideas about Serbian identity, unification and, especially the situation of Bosnia, was nevertheless also influenced by Belgrade circles. Although he felt ambiguous about a Greater Serbia, there was no question about it that a new state in whatever form should grow out of the ruins of the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. He strongly supported Serbian anti-Ottoman activism in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian regions (he would, however, not witness the Uprising and the shifting power relations after the Berlin Congress, because in 1875 he died in Trieste).

Let us return to Pelagić, the leader of the Uprising. His ideas may be seen as the combination of Chernyshevsky's peasant socialism as it was adopted by Svetozar Marković and spread through Bosnian-Serb networks via the United Serbian Youth.[137] Additionally, the ideas of Pelagić were influenced by the observations he made in Russia, where he, more than Marković, became aware of the fundamental differences between the situation of peasants in the Russian and Turkish Empire. Some of these ideas were articulated later in a book he wrote

[135] J.M. Meijer, *The Russian Colony in Zürich* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955), 88-89.
[136] Latinka Perović, *Srpski Socijalisti 19. Veka* (Belgrade: Rad, 1985), 236.
[137] Diana Mishkova points out that the Balkan leftish critique was, in fact, a reaction on a Russian-populist re-interpretation of Western Marxism. In other words, it was the adaptation of an imported perception of an imported notion. See: Mishkova, "Forms without Substance", in: Mishkova and Daskalov, *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume II*, 1-98:37.

about the uprising (*Istorija bosansko-hercegovačke bune)*.[138] In this honest and earnest book, which was forbidden in Serbia, he also presented his ideas about the future of Bosnia. First, he emphasized the economic problems and explained that only structural economic and social reforms would help Bosnia, not the implementation of ideological plans. Second, he was cautious about Pan-Slavism and the idea of Greater Serbia. A Serbian annexation, which was a very common ideal among intellectuals of all political orientation, he deemed undesirable. Instead, he advocated a "brotherly and free alliance with Serbia".[139]

Conclusions: cultural transfers

In conclusion, we can make four remarks about the international cultural transfers to Bosnia during the years 1875-1878.

First, the Bosnian crisis was an international event where Pan-Slavism shortly became on the surface, before it would sink again. Russian traditional Pan-Slavism had its ardent supporters among royal and religious circles of Serbia, but had little or no resonance among the peasantry (forming the bulk of the population). The tiny intellectual elite of Bosnia and Serbia was ambivalent about Russian orthodox Pan-Slavism, and even turned outspokenly negative after the failed Russian-Serbian campaigns of the Pan-Slav general Cherniaev, and the Russian treaty of San Stefano which favored the Bulgarians. Subsequently, the Austro-Hungarian occupation made Pan-Slav unification, and even the unification with Serbia, rather problematic. This meant a (temporary) decline for Russian hegemonic Pan-Slavism.[140] The Bosnian Uprising of 1875 and the Serbo-Turkish war of 1876, which was followed by the Bosnian resistance against the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, formed a period of international turbulence. When the dust settled, some ideas had 'walked through Europe' but would be immediately

[138] NBS - Vasa Pelagić, *Istorije bosansko-ercegovačke bune u svezi za Srpsko- i Rusko-Turskim ratom (Studija za narod i drzavnike* (Budapest: Stamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879).
[139] MacKenzie, *Serb and Russian Panslavism*, 102-103.
[140] Tuminez, *Russian Nationalism*, 99-100.

silenced, though temporarily, in the stabilization of a new geopolitical order.

Second, the Bosnian Uprising meant also an international meeting of internationalists from a variety of leftish backgrounds from Italy, Russia, and Central Europe. The volunteers during especially the beginning of the crisis in Bosnia got in contact with the local Bosnian insurgents and rebels, exchanging ideas and methods. Contrary to orthodox Pan-Slavism, the revolutionary action would accelerate after 1878 in Bosnia and the Serbian lands. However, it was not so much the Bosnian Uprising itself, as well the network with the Central European intelligentsia that would give a boost to local resistance movements.

Third, in line with the second remark, the United Serbian Youth appeared as the living network for the South Slavic lands of both the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empire, as well as for autonomous Serbia. In the United Serbian Youth persons like Svetozar Marković and Vaso Pelagić functioned as mediators between the Russian, South-Slavic and Central-European networks of progressive activists. Since Marković and Pelagić experienced the dazzling 1860s at Russian universities, they were obviously inspired by the 'new people' and the radical peasant socialist ideas of particularly Chernyshevsky. His peasant-centered socialism formed a great inspiration for the Balkan ideologues.

Fourth, the Russian connection after the 1870s went indirectly through the émigré-circles of Switzerland. Since the repression in Russia hardened after the assassination attempts of Karakozov and the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, most radical Russian youngsters fled to Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne, and other Swiss university towns. Marković was in contact with Bakunin, who, in turn, was inspiring young anarchists from Italy, like Malatesta. Russian radical ideas would reach the young Bosnians via the route of Switzerland. After a first wave in the 1860s and 1870s, it took some time until 1910, when Vladimir Gaćinović from Mostar would expand his network in Geneva.

4.3 Vladimir Gaćinović and the Russian revolutionaries

Vladimir Gaćinović, the student from the Mostar gymnasium, got in contact with the Young Russians in Switzerland. This is where the circle is rounded: the Russian generational consciousness of the 1860s up to the 1880s was transported via Switzerland and Vladimir Gaćinović to Bosnia. Additionally, the first political assassination attempt in 1910 and the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912 helped Gaćinović to define and articulate his ideas of armed resistance, and terror.

In a letter about the Viennese circles of South Slavic students, Pero Slijepčević wrote that Vladimir Gaćinović was also involved. However, he was not much taken seriously and was a little put aside because his ideas were too radical and many Viennese students deemed him a 'terrorist'.[141] Because of this, I decided to devote one particular chapter for explaining the meaning of Gaćinović's Russian network in Switzerland.

Death of a friend

During the international Bosnian crisis of 1908/1909, Gaćinović and Žerajić had joined the komitadži in southern Serbia, but after it had become clear that there was no chance to fight Austrians, Turks, or other enemies, they both returned home. Gaćinović spent some time in Valjevo, in Central Serbia, before he enrolled at the Belgrade gymnasium. Not much later, Žerajić failed to assassinate the Bosnian governor in Sarajevo and committed suicide. Gaćinović heard from the acts of his friend and colleague in Belgrade, and was shocked. He had not written much since he had left the Mostar gymnasium, but then again, he found in writing a way to cope with his grief and anger over Žerajić's death. Between 1910 and 1912 he published three obituary articles about Žerajić, in which we can observe an interesting

[141] Letter Pero Slijepčević to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopstanje*, 25.

ideological development, beginning with the Masaryk-inspired belief in peaceful educational actions in the countryside, and ending up in the conviction that terror was the best method to solve Bosnian problems. Gaćinović also believed that the fate of the nation was connected with the self-sacrifice of individuals. Accordingly, Gaćinović turned his initial commemorative essays into radical political pamphlets.

The transformation process of Gaćinović's visions in these years was the consequence of several encounters with important persons. First, during his years in Belgrade, where he studied at the gymnasium and the newly founded university, he got in contact with two new ideological mentors: Jovan Skerlić and Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa. Skerlić, as his professor and a public intellectual, brought Gaćinović to the Slovenski Jug club which was founded in 1903. There he met the Black Hand ideologue Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa.[142] Both Skerlić and Čupa were men of the pen: Čupa had studied in Brussels and Skerlić in Geneva, so they were fluent in French. Since Skerlić was an admirer of the works of the French writer Jean-Marie Guyeu, and since Čupa had studied in Brussels, it is possible that Skerlić and Čupa made Gaćinović discover his favorite writers and poets, though we cannot be sure. Gaćinović loved the verses of the Belgian Emile Verhaeren, and would, years later, write his thesis about the ethics of Guyeu.[143]

Both Skerlić and Čupa favored a Serbo-Croat, or Yugoslav, collaboration and unification. Čupa's endeavors to unite with the Serbo-Croat and other South-Slavic youth had brought him to Bulgaria and Slovenia. But there were differences between these mentors too, since Skerlić presented himself as an intellectual, while Čupa rather adopted the warrior-style with which he was accepted in Apis' circles of army officers. Most probably it was with the help of both Skerlić and perhaps Čupa, that Gaćinović could obtain a stipend to continue his studies in Switzerland. His departure from the Balkans was the second determining moment in his ideological transformation. In the wealthy mountainous republic of Switzerland he took much inspiration from his conversations with Russian émigrés who had left their homeland after

[142] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 65.
[143] Vladimir Gaćinović, "Gijoova Etika", in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 73-93; Vladimir Gaćinović, *Ogleda i Pisma*, 68-90.

the failed revolution of 1905. In 1911 he enrolled at the University of Lausanne. There he met many Russians radicals, who frequented cafes and attended universities, fighting about personal and predominantly ideological disputes. Gaćinović arrived in the middle of all that, absorbing all these dazzling new ideas and ideologies. Of course, he had known the fictional Bazarov, and Rakhmetov, but in Lausanne he met the *real people*. And the third contact, eventually, was with the perpetrators and ideologues of radically violent revolutionary methods. This encounter coincided with receiving the news of the death of Žerajić as a consequence of a clumsy terrorist act. In this atmosphere of conspiracies, Gaćinović saw in Žerajić's death a perfect motive to write and think about.

The essays Gaćinović wrote in 1911 show that Russian radicals had a more lasting influence on him than his Yugoslav mentors in Belgrade. There was almost no mentioning of Croats or Croat-Serb alliances in his writings: it was mostly focused on Serbia, greater Serbia, and "pure" or "suffering" Serbia. In the essay "For those who arrive" (*Onima koji dolaze*) he treated the generational contrast by referring to Turgeneev's *Fathers and Sons*.[144] In the same text, Gaćinović concluded that the youth now had to "prepare for sacrifices". This subject was further developed in his famous essay "Mlada Bosna", actually the first official mentioning of a Serbian generation with a special mission in Bosnia.

> "Recently we are having some spiritual fluctuation. Time has brought new strength, and created interference and deviations from the old. Dark silhouettes of new types float before my eyes. Life is transforming, thoughts are specified, and culture is entering our country in little pieces ...resolving and assembling, destroying and breathing! ... In order to restore the country, the Young Bosnian movement must rely on a deep, immense love for the people and great constructive faith in itself"[145]

[144] "Onima koji dolaze", cited in: Ljubibratić, *Gaćinović*, 65. Originally published in *Zora* (November 1910) under the pseudonymia "Vladimir Ivanov".
[145] Vladimir Gaćinović, "Mlada Bosna" *Kalendar Prosvjeta* 1911, 92-94. In: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 271-273.

Swiss life

The spirit of Bakunin was still present in these Swiss Russian émigré circles when Gaćinović arrived there. Already in the 1860s the Serbian socialist Svetozar Marković and Vaso Pelagić had been under the spell of the anarchist, and had brought his ideas to Belgrade and from there they spread to the other Serbian lands. But, as was already discussed in the first chapter, after the generation of the 1840s, many youngsters had taken over the avant-garde of leftish idealism. Switzerland was full of nihilists.

Among them were quite a number of Socialist-Revolutionaries. From the ashes of the crumbled *Land and Freedom* and *The People's Will* agrarian socialist party, this new movement of Socialist-Revolutionaries (SR's) had grown. The SR's had gone into exile since the Tsarist police was after them because of their extensive use of terror. In contrast to Lenin's Social-Democrats (at that time the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were still in one faction), the SR's focused on the peasantry. But because the peasants had not shown enough willingness to stand up against the Tsar, the church and the gentry, the SR's had decided to stir up the masses by creating chaos through terror. In 1902 the SR's had founded the 'combat section', whose sole task lied in the spread of terror and chaos.[146] After 1902, and also after the failed revolution of 1905, the combat section had killed more than hundred officials of the regime, including the minister of interior affairs, several governors, and the prime minister.

One of the leading men of the SR's was Mark Andreyevich Natanson, a former ally of Sergey Nechaev, and a friend of Stepniak. In the 1870s he had been the founder of the populist Chaikovists.[147] Contemporaries had described him as a great organizer, who had been able to restructure the populist movement into a more sustainable network.[148] Jailed and exiled, he returned again and again. In Switzerland he was responsible for converting several younger, also female Russian students – including the legendary Vera Figner - for the

[146] Carrere d'Encause, *Russian Syndrome*, 264.
[147] Venturi wrote one entire chapter about the Chaikovists: Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, 469-506.
[148] Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, 246.

populist case.[149] Natanson very likely must have had influence on Gaćinović. There is a letter in which Gaćinović asks his brother if there is any news from Natanson. This same brother later told Vladimir Dedijer that Natanson had taken the archive of Gaćinović to the USSR. Later Predrag Palavestra had investigated about this archive, but he was told that none of that was found in any Russian archive.[150] It is however very possible Gaćinović and Natanson have met each other, because they were active in the same networks, during the same time, and in the same cities. Another good argument is that Gaćinović began to develop a combined ideology of stirring up peasant uprisings by means of terrorism. This was, more or less, a Socialist-Revolutionary concept. In the following years Gaćinović was sending all kind of translated essays, biographies, and letters about Bakunin, Herzen, Nechaev, and Stepniak.[151] It is obvious he was struck by a fascination for Russian SR methods.

There is not much source material shining light on the life of Gaćinović in Switzerland, besides some dubious memoirs and scruffy letters. The Bosnian archive holds a collection of postcards, written by Gaćinović, which had been handed over to the police during the First World War.[152] We can observe that he was travelling everywhere, tramping from city to city. In a letter from Neuchatel he explains how he has learned so much in Switzerland, and how he has realized that only strength and violence can bring new hopes for Bosnia.[153] Interestingly, towards the end of the letter he switches from Serbo-Croat language to French. Maybe he was practicing his French before he would seriously start to study. In this paragraph he explains he would love to go to Rome to see the international exhibition, where also Dimitrije Mitrinović and the sculptor Meštrović were going. He concludes that he loves the solitude and silence in Switzerland, and,

[149] Ulam, Ibidem.
[150] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume 1*, 477.
[151] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 287-288.
[152] Letter from Prijedor to the Präsidium of the Joint Ministry 13/03/1916. Arhiv BiH - ZOP 37.911.
[153] Letter to Mirko Damnjanović, 02/06/1911, in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 54-56.

most importantly, that he is awaiting to see Čupa, the Black Hand ideologue, in the hospital of Geneva.[154]

Back to the Balkans: Introducing the "Modern Man"

When Gaćinović returned to Bosnia he had grown into a self-conscious and energetic, adult man, if we must believe the memoirs of contemporaries:

> "He spoke very little, but whatever he said, it was full of thoroughness and seriousness, even when these were completely common things. However, he may at that moment be planning something against something unjust. In personal conversations he would burst out in a Homeric laugh. He looked healthy and strong, although nevertheless his health was ruined by the tough life he lived."[155]

When he applied for membership of the Black Hand, his former mentor was suspicious at first. Čupa deemed him a Bakunist, because of his contacts with left-radicals from Russia, and Čupa was everything but a Bakunist.[156] However, he became a member of the Black Hand in 1911, and could thus rely on an extensive network of Serbian nationalists in both Serbia proper and the other lands under Turkish, Austrian, and Hungarian rule. He could use the network, and the financial aid of the Black Hand, to spread his ideology of the "modern man" which was partly inspired by the death of Žerajić.

Already in the text "Mlada Bosna" he had introduced the "new type of person". He worked out the concept more specifically in the ultimate pamphlet of the Bosnian terrorist: "The Death of a Hero" (*Smrt jednog Heroja*), a hagiographic, almost religious glorification of Žerajić's deed and a call for the new generation to provoke chaos through terror.[157] The pamphlet was printed and brought into circulation

[154] Ibidem, 56.
[155] Ljubibratić, *Gaćinović*, 80.
[156] Gaćinović, *Ogledi i Pisma*, 86-87; Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 37-8.
[157] *Smrt Jednog Heroja.* Arhiv BiH ZOP. 36.917; Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 278-292.

with help from the Black Hand organ *Pijemont* and the secret network of the *People's Defence*.

The text of "Death of a Hero" reveals that Gaćinović was the son of an Orthodox priest. His tone is very religious: "[...] a great revolutionary apostle who searched for great challenges and died at the crucial moment for the life of the nation" and "his conspicuous failure flowed through the veins of the young people with the speed of light." Gaćinović turned Žerajić into a Jesus-like symbol: His death was expressed in the blood of a generation. In the same paragraph, he also describes Žerajić as a "young god" who brought a "new religion" with "new ideas, beliefs, and love."[158] In another sentence Gaćinović gives a historical statement: "The beautiful and noble intentions and intellectual death of Žerajić have not been noticed enough, or hailed or valued. [...] It should be an invitation and warning, a cri de coeur ..."[159] Interestingly, this pamphlet was indeed some kind of "intellectual death", but not that much in the meaning Gaćinović must have had in mind. With this essay Gaćinović openly abandoned the methods of literary action, "going-to-the-people", excursions to the countryside, and even education. It was now violence that mattered.

The almost fictional Bogdan Žerajić in "The Death of a Hero" has obviously some treats of Rakhmetov, the "extraordinary man" from Chernyshevsky's novel. But this Žerajić was not so much inspired by the Chernyshevsky's sometimes also rigorous portrayal of Rakhmetov, but rather by the tsarist image of the radical "young man": a wicked and tormented spirit who gives his life for a higher ideal by creating the chaos that is needed to start a revolution. The death of a hero was therefore no longer about Bogdan Žerajić itself; it was not about his death, but more about the "modern man" who sacrifices his life, and, moreover, about the young people who wished to follow his path, and choose to die as an act of resistance. One of them was, for example, Gavrilo Princip.

In conclusion, Žerajić was made into "a modern man". The pamphlet "Death of a Hero" Žerajić not only lived on in the memory of his relatives, but also in the collective memory of the entire society.

[158] Ibidem.
[159] Ibidem.

Around 1910, media (newspapers, magazines) made it possible to connect the past to the present and even the future. This also meant that every person could put himself in a historical position. This is what happened with Žerajić: he became a media personality *avant-la-lettre*. It was Gaćinović who had promoted the clumsy assassination attempt to the higher level of a historic deed.

Explosives

After 1911, Gaćinović became a Bosnian Rakhmetov. His nationalist work for the Black Hand took much of his time and effort. He traveled to Sarajevo and Herzegovina to establish small organizations and activist circles. Little is known about these Rakhmetov-styled wanderings of Gaćinović in this period. Borivoje Jevtić described how Gaćinović one day appeared in his room in Belgrade: "As usually he arrived as if he had fallen from the sky [...] He talked about the work we ought to do. He stressed we needed to speed up. He expected that after returning [to Sarajevo] we could perform something. In Bosnia bloody dough had to be baked. The more chaos, the better."[160] What he did and where he resided, was not clear: "He had his reasons to be afraid," wrote Jevtić, "He spent fifteen days in my apartment, without registering. It was unknown to me where he came from and where he was going. His doings were for us, his closest friends, very secret. He went out at alone in the evening, or at night. There were a lot of visitors. They were mostly dubious figures, much like him."[161]

Another letter gives insight in his work around 1911 and 1912. This is a letter which was later used as a source to arrest students in Bosnia during the First World War.[162] In this letter Gaćinović is boasting about his conspirator's activities:

[160]Borivoje Jevtić, "Vladimir Gaćinović u Sarajevu" in: *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, 104.
[161] Ibidem.
[162] "Pismo Vladimira Gaćinovića Kapetanu Kosti Todoroviću, srpskom graničnom oficiru, pisano 22 maja 1912. g" in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 59-61; The original copy of this letter can be found in: Arhiv BiH - ZOP 36.900; The German translation, a piece of evidence in: Kriegarchiv Wien - B964 - Nachlass F. Würthle - 209.

> After leaving Belgrade I met my friend Spiro Šoldo in Mostar, who was awaiting me there. All of a sudden he got ill, so after a consultation of the Mostar doctor Uros Krulj he went immediately to Vienna to get treatment. From Mostar I went to Čapljina, where I met the organization member Vaso Medan, he is a priest, and I told him what to do in his own environment: finding suitable people who, when needed, can destroy the bridge of Gabela, explode telegraph lines and the nearby barrack of the gendarmerie, the fastest roadways, the railways, etc. Medan told me he had certain elements in the villages near the bridge, and he promised he would bring them in case he needed to visit Šabac.

There is no doubt about the character of his activities: there is mentioning of bombs, explosives, demolishing, and destruction. Another aspect of the letter is the mentioning of many "new" members of "the organization". It is not clear whether this is the Black Hand or the People's Defense, or something very similar. But it is obvious there was an underground network:

> In Trebinje I met mr. Jevto Dučić, a tradesman, who I have introduced in the organization, and gave him the oath. I gave him the same instructions as for Trebinje: to require for the commanders and his helpers in Trebinje, to find people who can destroy at a given moment, and to find people who can demolish the water supply system between Trebinje and Hum: to find other people for the railways, and to keep an eye on the movement of the army and the last line of the secret hercegovinian channel…Krtinje, Ugarci, Trebinje, Konjsko, that will be connected to Vranjski, Lukavac and the rest in the north.

Other persons he initiates in the organization are Blagoje Milošević, a tradesman from Bileca, and Maša Novčić, a connector of Vranje. He also initiated his relative Đuro Gaćinović in Meka Grude. In Mostar he spoke to "an old member", called Božidar Žecević, whose brother Svetozar was initiated in the organization. Additionally, he also involved another banker and a priest from Mostar. Again, in this letter,

he proposes to approach new persons for the organization who are able to "work with explosive materials". Since the letter is addressed to an army officer, we can conclude that Gaćinović had grown a serious networker of the anti-Austrian movement in Bosnia.

The system of founding secret societies among young students in different towns was both inspired by Mazzini's methods, and, of course, by the Russian revolutionaries. In the Yugoslav historiography, Gaćinović's very small secret groups, which only consisted of four or five members, are called after the Russian word *kruzhok* (circle). Possibly he had adopted the concept from his SR friends in Switzerland or from the books he had read, including *Underground Russia*. According to his close friend Pero Slijepčević, Gaćinović founded a *kruzhok* in Zagreb and Pakrac (Croatia), two in Vienna, and five in Sarajevo.[163] In the *kruzhok* of Sarajevo the future assassins of Franz Ferdinand were included.

Out of Bosnia

When in October 1912 the First Balkan War broke out, Gaćinović decided to sign up as a volunteer in the army. Residing at that time in Sarajevo, he traveled via Dubrovnik to Montenegro. As a volunteer in the Montenegrin army he fought for Shkodra (Serbian: Skadar, Italian: Scutari) on the Adriatic coast.[164] The small Montenegrin army of King Nikola I sieged the Albanian-Turkish harbor town, to the chagrin of the Great Powers, including Austria-Hungary, and hence stirred up an international diplomatic crisis. Austria-Hungary persuaded the other great powers to play the hard game with Serbian and Montenego, and thus they forced king Nikola to give up.

This crisis of Skadar was another alarm for the great powers, and it had direct consequences for the situation in Bosnia. Austro-Hungarian hardliners, such as the governor Potiorek, opted for a quick war with Montenegro and Serbia, in order to settle things once and for all. Obviously, the successes of the joint Balkan Alliance made the Viennese politician nervous. If the army of the small Serbian rump state could, together with Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece, defeat the great

[163] Pero Slijepčević, "Mlada Bosna", 193-194.
[164] Mihajlo Ražnatović, "Vladimir Gaćinović" *Književne Novine* 17/03/1957.

Ottoman Empire, the question was how Austria would survive in the coming war.

After the First Balkan War Gaćinović traveled from Montenegro through Italy back to Switzerland. He could not set his foot on Bosnian soil anymore, because he was supposed to fulfill his military service in the Austro-Hungarian army. This he refused. "Does it make sense," he wrote in a letter, "to waste a whole year and destroy my entire life as I serve in the army somewhere in Trieste or in Galicia? I do not think so."[165] He began losing touch with Bosnia. He wrote to his friends at home that they should leave the country, since he believed they were trapped there. This became true after the Austrian governor Potiorek had launched "exceptional measures" to counter Serbian nationalism in Bosnia. On May 3 in 1912, he publicly issued a ban on all Serbian gymnastics, singing and music societies, social democratic organizations, all Sokol societies, anti-alcohol organizations, religious-orthodox oriented neighborhood associations, the typographers' guild, the tambura (mandolin) -Ensemble, the folkloric dance club and all Serbian reading rooms. Furthermore, he closed the doors of Prosvjeta, all guild associations with Serbian background and the Board of female Serbian volunteers in Bosnia and Hercegovina.[166]

The Balkan Wars thus had two important consequences: The Bosnian-Serb community became much more self-confident, while the Austrian authorities became much stricter. In this atmosphere, for many politically engaged Bosnian students the time seemed right to act. Neighboring Serbia presented itself in propaganda more than ever as the beacon of South Slavic solidarity and freedom. Because this country managed with success to defeat the Turks, it became tempting to imitate the violence of the Serbian army in a small Bosnian context. Many Bosnian-Serb, and even some Bosnian-Croat students left for the front.

[165] Letter to Špiro Soldo, cited in: Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 109.
[166] "O društvima i o pravu skupljana", *Sarajevski List* 03/05/1913.

4.4 Conclusions: Echoes of Russia

Fathers and Sons was a theme of Russian literature that was transferred to the cultural practice of young Bosnians. Hence, we must understand the idea of "youth" in this wider European context. The Russian nihilists were inspired by the secret societies of Mazzini and, later, the anarchist movement in Italy and Spain, and the wave of terrorist attacks in post-Commune Paris. But the generational c+omplex was a sign of the time as well. It may not be a coincidence that in the same time psychiatrist Sigmund Freud formulated the Oedipus-complex, concluding that each son felt the urge to replace his father – both literally and metaphorically. Because of its family-styled Habsburg rule structure, powerfully symbolized in the father-figure of Franz Joseph, the Empire could in many ways be seen as an oedipal target.[167] In the words of the young, mainly Slavic activists of the universities of Prague, Cracow and Vienna, the Habsburg Empire was like a traditional patriarch, oppressing its many different and culturally diverse children. In his book about teenage culture, Jon Savage even goes so far to see the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the spark that led to the outbreak of the First World War, as a "patricide".[168]

In this part I mainly addressed the Russian inspiration and tried to unearth the connections to nihilists and revolutionaries. There are, in sum, three important remarks to make about this.

First, the Russian connection was rather a dream than a reality. The writings of the late 19th century Bosnian-Serb writer and rebel Vaso Pelagić, tell us he felt no warm feelings towards Russia in general, and Russians in particular. The Russian government and the Russian generals had helped the Bosnian Serbs for reasons of propaganda and

[167] The personal and political background of the Oedipus-thesis of Freud is discussed in: Carl E. Schorske, *Wien: Geist und Gesellschaft im Fin de Siècle* (Frankfurt: Fisscher, 1982), 169-194. Original American edition in 1980.
[168] Savage, *Teenage*, 141.

Pan-Slav agitation. Pelagić concluded in his memoirs that the conservative Pan-Slavs had no real empathy towards the Bosnian peasants, who suffered in harsh geographic and political conditions. In 1911, a young writer wrote in the Viennese *Zora* that: "Terra Incognita - that is Russia for foreigners … Also for the Serbs Russia is an unknown country, even within the circles of intellectuals."[169]

There had been, however, times when individual connections were made. The personal relations between distinguished Serbian politicians and scholars, such as Vladimir Jovanović, Svetozar Marković, and later, Nikola Pašić, with Russian émigré-circles in Switzerland during the second half of the 19th century may have been important. At least the connections were made there, and were much more sustainable than the direct connections to Moscow and Petersburg in the Tsarist Empire. All in all, the Russian connection was indeed present, but most probably weaker than as it was represented in Bosnian Serb and Serbian propaganda.

Second, the cultural transfer of Russian underground culture was, in the end, more successful. The wider reach of print media and the growth of literacy in Bosnia helped the development of a small reader's audience. The popularity of the Russian novel about the 'new people', including those of Turgeneev and Chernyshevsky, stimulated a sense of solidarity with the revolutionary movements in Russia. Real contacts between Russian revolutionaries and Bosnian Serb young activists, however, were rare. Stepniak and others visited Bosnia, but left the region in utter disappointment. The novels, however, left a mark on the young Bosnians' consciousness. In a culture that had been overwhelmingly literary, and where arts had always been connected with heroic poetry and epic tradition, the new novels of Russia were consumed like political programs. Especially *What is to be done?* by Chernyshevsky left deep influences on the young Bosnians. The novel was read as a story about themselves, and the living style of its protagonists were imitated and copied. Via these novels other ideas of Russian writers, or Russian ideas, entered the mental world of the young Bosnians. Bakunin, for example, had been in contact with the Serbian

[169] Vsevlad Argus, "Iz Rusije - Misli i utisci" *Zora* 2 Nr. 4-5 (1911), 192-203: 192.

would-be leaders in Switzerland, but came (again) in vogue among Bosnian Serb students after 1900.

Third, the locus of cultural transfer of progressive Russian ideas was in the Swiss universities. Swiss émigré-circles had grown faster when repression grew in Tsarist Russia. After the terrorist wave in Russia in the 1880s more and more radicals left for Switzerland. In these circles Vladimir Gaćinović landed when he moved his activities from Vienna to Lausanne. The already existing precarious network of the Serbian intellectual and political leaders who had studied in Switzerland had become a more sustainable one: not only students from Serbia proper, but also from the Bosnian regions could go to study there. There are many sources that give evidence about Gaćinović's contacts with leading figures of the Russian nihilist circles from Petersburg. As a propagandist abroad, he *implemented the 'Russian system' of kruzhoks and secret societies in Bosnia*. There are good reasons to consider this contribution to the Bosnian Serb movement as solely Gaćinović's. The Black Hand, however, was less connected to Russian nihilists. When Gaćinović joined the Black Hand, it's spiritus rector Ljuba Jovanović Čupa was at first surprised and stated that the organization was not looking for Bakunists, like Gaćinović. Possibly, the Black Hand however took inspirations from Gaćinović's inspiration from Russia and began using methods and tactics of the Russian underground. Pamphlets and handbooks of Russian nihilists, including *Underground Russia* (Stepniak) and *Catechism of a Revolutionary* (Nechaev) were circulating in Bosnia. Correspondences of Gaćinović show that it is likely these texts had reached Bosnia through his individual network.

Part V: The Educators

"We, the educated sons of the people, [*who*] *should take our people to a new, progressive and happier life"* - *Zora*, 1910.[1]

"the people do create not the present but the future. That […] that is nationalism" - *Val*, 1912.[2]

Introduction

The letter correspondence between Gavrilo Princip and Marko Maglov in Prague (see Part III) shows that youth periodicals were strong indicators of ideological orientations: Marko Maglov asked whether Gavrilo Princip would take the ideological route of the Vienna-based *Zora* or that of the Prague-based *Val*. Obviously, periodicals were guiding students to take diverse ideological paths.

This part, "The Educators," focuses on the content and distribution of the youth periodicals in which the young Bosnian students shaped and shared their ideological visions. I concentrate on the alleged "rise of the youth" after 1910. In what follows the corpus of research material consists of written media, especially these youth periodicals that provide insight into the shifting coalitions among various anti-Austro-Hungarian youth movements. It shows how the previous "vertical" identifications of the different national pillars in Bosnian society shifted into more "horizontal" identifications with peers, and, ultimately, with the youth - or the young generation - as a strong force in creating a "new present".

There are two issues to address. First, it is useful to know how these periodicals were edited and produced: Who wrote for them, what was their target audience, who disseminated the periodicals and how was this achieved? Were particular magazines affiliated with any official entity – perhaps the Bosnian or Serbian state? And what was

[1] Živojin Dačić, "Vratite se u svome narodu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 2 (1910), 64–67: 65.
[2] "Zadaća omladine u narodnoj borbi" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 3–5:5.

the meaning of these connections to those in power? Exploring these questions allows us to learn more about editorial autonomy and the networks and coalitions of the youth movements. Possibly, the more established organizations gave the younger, rebellious organizations access to scarce (financial) resources, but required compensation in return. Hence, I aim to discuss the networks that made up these movements and elucidate the meaning of such relations.

Second, these periodicals' messages must be scrutinized, so as to shine some light on the ideological currents within the protest movement. By identifying these currents we get a detailed picture of how consistent the ideas of the second generation were. After all, polemics between periodicals, or even within the columns of a single periodical, give an idea of the ideological *dynamics* of the youth movement.

The exchange of ideas and ideologies exists, of course, only in the periodicals themselves. There is nothing outside the text: its interpretation is based on the worldviews of the historical actors involved. This chapter, therefore, focuses on those students who were writing and reading, rather than the mass of ignorant, politically inactive youngsters.

Basically, in 1900, the vast majority of the Bosnian population was illiterate. A fairly isolated group, the intelligentsia communicated mainly among themselves. This, however, does not mean that they played a modest role in the long run. From 1900 onwards, written media contributed to the spread of international ideas, news, and ideologies. To disseminate the text of a newspaper article, only one literate person is needed; café conversations can do the rest.

5.1 Reading: access to modernity

In his research on written media, Pejanović accounted for 125 publications, including newspapers, children's magazines, and religious periodicals, that came out regularly in Bosnia during the

Austro-Hungarian period.[3] Additionally, about one hundred journals and other papers from abroad were distributed and read in Bosnia.[4] Obviously, the editors of these newspapers and magazines had to cope with rigid censorship.[5] During the first decades of the Austro-Hungarian regime, there was little freedom of the press: every newspaper first had to be approved by the censors before it could be printed. After Kállay's death in 1903, more space was created for a diverse media made up of multiple voices.[6] But this did not last long. With the media law of 1907, censorship again became stricter, possibly also in relation to the forthcoming annexation in 1908. After the annexation crisis, the authorities once more launched restrictive measures: *all* papers, and not only the Bosnian Serb papers, were placed under strict supervision. There were clearly political reasons behind this crackdown. In this last period, between 1907 and 1914, the Bosnian Serb newspapers hung in suspense: the tumultuous events in the neighboring country stimulated nationalist agitation. The Austro-Hungarian authorities were aware of the sudden rise of Serbian nationalism.[7] During the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, the Bosnian Serb media were placed under the complete control of the authorities, and some were even forced to stop publishing.[8]

Newspapers

Newspapers were the primary news source, and there were morning and evening editions. The most widely distributed newspaper was *Sarajevski List*, a "neutral" newspaper, which was nevertheless fully

[3] Đorđe Pejanović, *Štampa Bosne i Hercegovine 1850–1941* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1949) 14; Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovački Listovi u XIX veku*, 72; Džaja, op. cit., 85.
[4] Džaja, op. cit., 85.
[5] Milojkovic-Djuric, *Eastern Question* (2002), 112–155.
[6] Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovački Listovi*, 72.
[7] Amir Duranović, "The Agressiveness of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Serbs in the Public Discourse during the Balkan Wars" in: Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 371–397.
[8] Also the newspapers of Bosnian Muslims and, to a lesser extent, of the Bosnian Croats were monitored and censored. Because I focus in this thesis mainly on the Bosnian Serbs, I will approach the media of the two other groups less systematically.

integrated into the cultural mission of Austria-Hungary.[9] There were also German-language newspapers, such as *Bosnischer Post.* These newspapers, possibly because of the language barrier, barely reached the various "pillars" of Bosnian society.[10]

The "first generation" took the initiative to publish newspapers with an outspoken Bosnian Serb orientation. The most important newspaper for the Serbs was *Srpska Riječ* ("Serbian Word", founded in 1905), which brought to its readers a well-articulated national message.[11] The perspective of *Srpska Riječ* was determined by the *Čaršija* (trade elite) of Sarajevo. Gligorije Jeftanović, for example, the owner of the city's Hotel Evropa, financed its publishing, and hence influenced its editorials. Petar Kočić's *Otadžbina* ("Fatherland" [1907]) was published only for a short period, but it was certainly a very important newspaper for the Serbian community because of the antipathy it expressed toward the Austrians. Then there was *Narod* ("People"), whose mostly Vienna-educated editors hailed from Mostar, whose mercantile elite gave it a solid base. Here the "first generation" played a role in publishing the newspaper; nonetheless, some typical representatives of the younger generation, for example Vladimir Gaćinović, also wrote for *Narod*.[12]

But it was the periodicals, perhaps even more so than newspapers, that played the major role in defining and shaping the confessional or even ethnically identified culture. In periodicals, the Bosnian Serb cultural elite presented itself to their own people and to the Austro-Hungarian elites. These periodicals not only discussed the local ethnicity and nationality of the target audience, but also elaborated on cultural change in the age of modernity.[13] The peripheral periodicals

[9] Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovački Listovi*, 85–93; Džaja, op. cit., 93.
[10] Džaja, op. cit., 93–94.
[11] "Bosna", *Slovenski Jug* 1 Nr 2 (1903) 3. The launch of the new Serbian newspaper in Bosnia is described in Belgrade's *Slovenski Jug* as follows: "We think that we do not even have to talk about the necessity of a Serbian newspaper in Bosnia, we are happy that the people over there get a reliable advocate for this endeavor, as long as their government allows it."
[12] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 37.
[13] Penn State University regularly publishes the *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, elaborating on this particular theme of modernity in journals. There have been several transnational comparisons, including with the Balkans. See: Noëlle Cuny, "Conference Report: Scientific Poetics in European Modernist and Avant-

of Bosnia and Serbia increasingly published articles about ongoing debates in Western European academic and other cultural circles about "time" and "space," about the linear understanding of historical chronology, about modernism and modernist art, about decadence, socialism, feminism, Social Darwinism, and vitalism.

Periodicals

The educated students of the second generation brought to Bosnia literary periodicals from surrounding countries and from more distant cultural spheres. One of these periodicals was *Slovenski Jug* ("Slavic South", founded in 1903) from Belgrade. It favored a Yugoslav synthesis and was supported by some members of the political elite in the Serbian capital. For obvious reasons, this weekly was not distributed in Bosnia. Someone possessing just one copy of *Slovenski Jug* could get in real trouble with the authorities, especially after the high treason prosecutions that had taken place between 1907 and 1909. The borders being porous, however, young people studying in Belgrade smuggled copies of *Slovenski Jug* into Bosnia. In this same city *Srpski Književni Glasnik* ("Serbian Literary Herald", founded in 1901) was printed. *Slovenski Jug*, together with *Srpski Književni Glasnik* and *Bosanska Vila*, were by this time regarded as the most important of the literary periodicals, and they were also read by the young generation. These periodicals were quite pretentious and ambitious, and often rang the bells announcing a new era. Culture, as discussed in these periodicals, was to be seen in a *national* and *social* context. Editors set themselves the objective of elevating the illiterate and uncultured society to higher levels of development.[14] This "self-activating" notion of culture was adopted by the younger generation, who spread it through their own periodicals. Furthermore, *Slovenski Jug* focused on the spread of

Garde Magazines of the 1900s to the 1940s", *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2011), 237–248: 240. The University of Tulsa coordinates a project on Modernism in Journals. Up to now many journals have been digitalized and made available in an online archive: http://modjourn.org.

[14] Predrag Palavesta, "Ideologija i misija književnih časopisa: Primer *Bosanske Vile* i *Srpskog Književnog Glasnika*" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na početku veka* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 17–22.

nationalism as a modern ideology in the "occupied lands". To that end, it devoted many of its columns to informing its readers about news from the other Slavic regions of Slovenia, Bosnia and even Bulgaria.

Youth periodicals

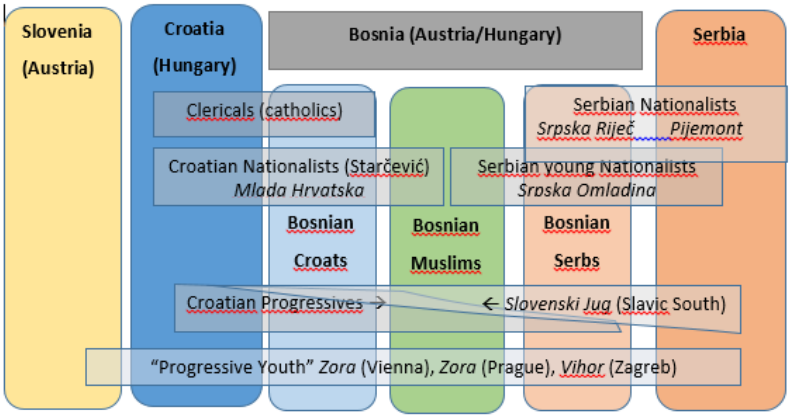
During the first decades of Austro-Hungarian rule, there were several, quite harmless magazines for children and youth.[15] They were often commissioned by the authorities and had no political meaning or content that conflicted with the colonial mission. Outspokenly political youth periodicals were illegal, and so the most important and influential youth periodicals came out in Vienna, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Prague. The typical local Bosnian political periodical was often nothing more than something that had been handwritten on coarse paper, which might be seen by the members of a few marginal and secret student societies but seldom reached a wider readership.[16]

The youth periodicals that were published and distributed out of Central European university towns were modeled after the already bygone periodicals and newspapers that had once been allied to the *Omladina* (United Serbian Youth) of the 1860s in Vojvodina. There was also a direct link to that pioneering generation of the 1860s: *Zora*, the oldest Serbian student platform in Vienna, had led up to the *Omladina* and, later, the youth movement after 1908. There were many youth periodicals, and when one of them ceased publication another popped up – especially in the outlying areas, like Vojvodina and Dalmatia. I have made a selection here of the most important, controversial or interesting youth periodicals. In the next few pages, I will explain how the periodicals relate to one another, and how they can be perceived as being representative of the different currents within the movement – both organizationally and ideologically.

[15] One of them was the Serbian children and pupils' magazine *Đačko Kolo* ("Pupil's Dance"). See: Džaja, op. cit., 95. There were also some religious papers aimed at youth. See: Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovački Listovi*, 135–136.
[16] Kruševac, *Bosanske-Hercegovački Listovi*, 133.

5.2 Mapping the periodicals

Given that these periodicals (and some newspapers) were pinpointing the movements and ideas of Bosnian intellectuals, as well as those in neighboring societies, we can construct a diagram, as a heuristic tool, to clarify the movements' different political, cultural, and social orientations. This shows us the "boxes" we use to "map" a complex, multifaceted reality. Of course, reality cannot be contained in boxes, so therefore I suggest that we take this representation to be a starting point for further argumentation about the political and cultural orientation of editors, writers and readers:



Here I have accounted for four "countries", though in fact only Serbia was independent at the time. Bosnia's confessional communities are presented as three pillars.[17] The various "movements", allied with periodicals, are situated as if on a map, referring to the political and cultural orientation of their readers and editors, and where each could be found. In the cases of the Croatian Progressives and the Slavic South,

[17] I have left out the communities of Jews or Roma, in order to keep the diagram simple; similarly, there was a large community of Croatian Serbs, who aligned themselves with all kinds of Serbian movements in Serbia and in Bosnia. I have also left out the positions of other neighboring countries, such as Montenegro, Bulgaria, or the Turkish province of Macedonia.

they were based in, respectively, Croatia and Serbia, but each reached out toward the other.

"Mapping" these periodicals is an old-fashioned way of seeing the pre-Yugoslav movements, because doing so falls prey to teleological bias. Most of the movements had very strong opinions about what the future would look like but lacked clear visions. But what the diagram also wants to show is that these confessional communities in Bosnia, and their counterparts in neighboring countries, were far from homogenous or monolithic, and were not united within a single cultural, political, and social context. It is important to emphasize that within the Croatian "pillar" there were different movements who disagreed strongly among themselves: clericals, nationalists, progressives, progressive youth, etc.

To properly explain the inter-ethnic, intergenerational, inter-confessional, inter-national and ideological dynamics at play here, I will consider the most relevant periodicals for this research. Like in part II, I will map the periodicals, so to speak, following the routes of the South Slavic students from Vienna, Prague, and Belgrade to Zagreb and, eventually, to Sarajevo. The periodicals I will discuss and analyze are the Vienna-based *Zora*, because this was read by progressive youth and was also seen as a pioneering periodical for activist youth in the Balkans. I will also discuss *Mlada Hrvatska* ("Young Croatia"), a Croatian periodical, both progressive and nationalist in character, and *Srpska Omladina* ("Serbian Youth"), its counterpart and enemy. Eventually I will turn to the three most radical papers of the progressive "Yugoslav" or "Serbo-Croat" youth: *Val* from Prague, *Vihor* from Zagreb, and the issues of the reborn *Zora* published in Prague during and after the Balkan Wars.

Zora in Vienna (published 1910 –1911)

When *Zora* was founded in 1910, the "new generation" was given a serious platform of communication and action. More than any other organ, *Zora* helped the new generation not only to present themselves but also to be seen by others. *Zora* launched itself as the new voice for a new youth. Its subtitle in the first year was "herald of the Serbian progressive youth." By its name, *Zora* referred to the parent

organization of the same name, the student organization in Vienna, active since 1863.[18]

Zora, by its own account, needed to focus on two targets: first, it would help nationalize the culture, spreading positive, nationalist and progressive ideas of Serbia. This aim was evident in the first article of the inaugural issue, opening with the headline: "Unify in culture".[19] And, second, *Zora* would also be a platform for the dissemination of *modernity*: the new, multi-layered culture of that time would find its way to readers via the columns of *Zora*.[20]

Some Bosnians students, mostly from Mostar, were involved in *Zora*'s founding. Among them was Dimitrije Mitrinović, who published the most important manifestos in the first issues of 1910. Pero Slijepčević, also a former *gymnasium* pupil from Mostar, devoted himself to *Zora*'s second aim: the spreading of modernist culture and literature.[21] Vladimir Gaćinović and others from the Mostar Circle wrote articles for *Zora*. However, there were clearly some distinguished names working for *Zora*, too. For example, the opening article of the inaugural issue of 1910 was written by Belgrade professor Jovan Skerlić.[22] In this article, Skerlić puts forth the message that *Slovenski Jug* had already been spreading for some years: Serbs and Croats possessed a common culture and needed to cooperate, perhaps even merge, in what would be a national cultural renaissance. Because Skerlić was also the mastermind behind *Slovenski Jug*, it is likely the two periodicals worked closely together. Even *Zora*'s conception of its table of contents was obviously influenced by what *Slovenski Jug* was doing, placing special emphasis on news from the "outlying" areas of the South Slav lands. Another, more specific evidence of a close tie between *Slovenski Jug* and *Zora* is that the former is mentioned in the latter's colophon as its official distributor in the kingdom of Serbia.

[18] Vladimir Ćorović, *Istorije Zora* (Ruma: Stamparija Đ. Petrovića, 1905).
[19] Stojan Novaković, "Ujedinjujmo se kulturom!" *Zora* 1 Nr.1 (1910), 1–2.
[20] Ljiljana Marinković, "Tradicionalno i moderno u književnim prilozima časopisa *Zora*" in: Slobodanka Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na početku veka* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992), 155–159: 156; Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 22; Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Pred Radom", *Zora* 1 Nr. 1 (1910), 7–9.
[21] Pero Slijepčević, "O narodnom radu naše omladine" *Zora* 1 Nr. 1. (1910), 21–26.
[22] Jovan Skerlić, "Neoslavizam i jugoslovenstvo" *Zora* 1 Nr. 1. (1910), 3–6.

Zora was printed in 1910 by a Serbian printer in Zagreb. According to Palavestra, it was Mitrinović who arranged the distribution because of his extensive network in Zagreb.[23] In the following year *Zora* was printed at a small orthodox printing plant in Karlovci where Nedeljko Čabrinović, one of the assassins of June 1914, had also worked.[24] In 1912, during the Balkan Wars, *Zora* moved to Prague.

Zora's articles show how the network of Serbian progressive youth was spread over all Austro-Hungary's university towns as well as elsewhere. In seven of the first nine issues there were nearly twenty articles from Vienna and thirteen from Belgrade; there were also regular contributions from the Dalmatian cities Zadar and Split, and from the European capitals of Prague, Paris, Rome, and St. Petersburg. Interestingly, only five articles were brought in from Sarajevo.[25]

As for the "Serbian-Croatian" nationalization of culture, the influence of Skerlić and *Slovenski Jug* was clearly visible. A great deal of *Zora* was, so to speak, part of Serbian foreign cultural policy work. First and foremost they received moral support, but even though there are no sources that give evidence, it is very plausible that they also received financial support.

But, besides that, *Zora*'s success was also a result of the enthusiasm and dedication of the people behind the platform in the Viennese student association. This inspired Croatian students in Vienna as well. A Croatian student who was a member of *Zora*'s Croatian counterpart *Zvonimir* wrote in his memoirs:

> *Zvonimir* was anaemic, a poor thing … so let us say, we lived from day to day, on collected charity, on belief in the future, and disappointment in the present. *Zvonimir* was tattered and plagued, it was constantly changing spaces, begging the rich man in the country for money, substituting presidents and councilors all the time. […] *Zora*, in contrast, was full of energy! It had considerable wealth, some capital in the inventory and in the member administration.

[23] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 22–23; Rigney, *Initiation and Initiative*, 12.
[24] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 247.
[25] Counted from data of the issues 1–2, 3, 4–5, 8, and 9 in 1911. Issues 6 and 7 were missing.

> That is why there was always a great fight about who would be on the board of *Zora*. […] Unlike *Zvonimir*, *Zora* was full-blooded. There they worked, but also conspired, politicized, cheated, etc. The assemblies of *Zora* were electrifying, sometimes even rebellious, because there were regular conflicts with well-prepared, organized parties, and cliques who knew what it was like to have power. Therefore it happened that we, the Croats, with growing interest and in increasing numbers, attended the *Zora* assemblies. The assemblies of *Zvonimir* gave the impression of an old-fashioned sweetly sentimental movie. *Zora* then rapidly began absorbing *Zvonimir* and the issue of a fusion was seriously discussed. And *Zora*'s influence on us was growing stronger.[26]

This quote shows that the rapprochement between the two Viennese student organizations was the direct result not only of Balkan politics, Austro-Hungarian repression and Serbian propaganda, but also of these "small" daily affairs in the student scene.

To sum up, *Zora* was a Viennese periodical rooted in the Serbian progressive movement. It was strongly connected with the literary and intellectual circles of Belgrade and the people around *Slovenski Jug*. It was edited by the pioneers from Mostar – the "challenging group," the outspoken radical generation of Bosnian Serb students in Vienna. Their ideological stance represented a progressive, inclusive Serbo-Croat orientation. *Zora*, in other words, was the essential "node" in an expanding social and intellectual network.

Mlada Hrvatska (1908–1912) in Zagreb

Mlada Hrvatska positioned itself politically opposite the Serbian nationalists, but also opposite the Croatian Serb progressives (whom they regarded as Serb nationalists in disguise) and, eventually, Croatian clerics and religious leaders (and here were met with opposition in kind:

[26] Arhiv BiH, ZOP, 32.829/2. - Milan Banić, unpublished manuscript. More about the activities of *Zvonimir* in: Mirjana Gross, "Studentski Pokret 1875–1914" in: Jaroslav Šidak (ed.), *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1969), 451–79: 456.

the Croatian Catholic magazine *Hrvatska Straža* forbade all Catholics in Croatia to publish in the new godless periodical).[27]

Here some context is needed. The two most influential Croatian movements were those of the nationalists and clerics. These groups were rivals: on one side were the followers of Starčević, who aimed at the creation of a secular Croatian nation; on the other were the Catholic nationalists, who put Catholicism at the center of Croatian identity. Along with the clerics and the nationalists, there was a group of Croatian "progressives," including Croatian Serbs, who believed that it would be best to join forces with the Serbs against the Austrians and Hungarians.

When, after the Hungarian actions in 1903, more and more Croatians (in Bosnia as well as in Croatia) began thinking of joining the progressives and of striving for Yugoslav or at least Serbian-Croatian rapprochement (*narodno jedinstvo*, national unity), a number of students became worried and formed a movement speaking out against Serbophilia and Serbian propaganda in Croatia. This new youth movement also objected publicly to the Croatian Serb coalition of Franjo Supilo in the Diet.

The Young Croats had emerged in reaction to the rise of Serbian nationalism after the annexation crisis of 1908 and became more active between 1910 and 1914, the years of Serbo-Croat rapprochement.[28] According to the young modernist poet Anton Gustav Matoš, Yugoslavism was nothing more than masked Serbian nationalism: "Serbianism will always find political separatists and proselytes among us, especially among the Orthodox". [29] Further, he observed that "it is an undeniable fact that among the Serbs the idea that [South Slavic] national concord is an incentive to 'Serbing-it-up' whereas among the Croats this notion [...] weakens the Croatian idea".[30] Matoš's fears were shared by the Young Croats, who published a magazine from 1907 onwards: *Mlada Hrvatska: Glasilo Starčevićanskog Đastva* (Young Croatia: The Herald of Starčević's Pupils). This periodical aimed, as its subtitle suggested, to return to the

[27] "Smiju li katolici pisati u 'Ml. Hrvatsku'?" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 3–4 (1911), 95.
[28] Mirjana Gross, "Studentski Pokret 1875–1914", 465.
[29] Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, 100.
[30] Ibidem, 111.

roots of Croat nationalist leader Starčević's thinking. But it was, at the same time, a periodical for students – which is to say, for the youth.

What we see here is a symbiosis of nationalism and youthful pride. *Mlada Hrvatska* embodied the spirit of the promising younger generation. With regard to their élan and self-presentation, they were quite similar to their Serb counterparts. Just like the Serbian young nationalists, the Young Croats considered the older generation to be weak because they had compromised themselves: to Vienna, to Serbia, or to Rome. The Young Croats saw themselves instead as the pioneers of an autonomous, proud Croatia.

In Bosnia, *Mlada Hrvatska* was forbidden. Nevertheless, some Croatian students managed to smuggle the periodical into Bosnia, where it was read by the Bosnian Croat and pro-Croat Bosnian Muslim students. In one memoir, a Bosnian Croat recalls meetings in hidden, secret places, where older students taught the younger ones about history and culture and "awakened a freedom-loving and revolutionary spirit".[31] *Mlada Hrvatska* reached out to these students.

Srpska Omladina (1912–1913) in Sarajevo

The fears of the Young Croats were not entirely unfounded. The shell game between the Serb and Yugoslav ideas was still best represented by the only political youth periodical published in Bosnia: *Srpska Omladina* ("Serbian Youth"). This magazine first came out in 1912. Its editorial office was a workroom on the premises of the Serbian cultural organization Prosvjeta in Sarajevo, so there should be no doubt where this Serbian youth publication got its money from.[32]

Srpska Omladina was nationalistic, in the meaning of the Greater Serbia idea. This orientation was, by this time, not very special, because across the Serbian political spectrum, from left to right, most were sympathetic toward this idea. But it was far from easy to express Serbian nationalism in Bosnia. Soon the Bosnian official schools forbade their pupils from reading and distributing *Srpska Omladina*.

---

[31] Letter Franjo Zekić to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopštenja*, 54–55:55.
[32] Letter Kosta Vuković to Vojislav Bogićević, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopštenja*, 35–38:37.

A few Bosnian students who also wrote for *Slovenski Jug* published in *Srpska Omladina*, such as Borivoje Jevtić, and Miloš Vidaković. *Srpska Omladina* was nevertheless some kind of *Fremdkörper* in 1912, because the youth periodicals by that time increasingly followed the path of Serbo-Croatian rapprochement. Possibly for that reason, *Srpska Omladina* contained fairly many articles explaining how Croats and Muslims were actually Serbs. In other words, Yugoslav or Serb, it was all the same; everyone was actually a Serb, whether one wanted to be or not. This very confusing and partly unfathomable reasoning usually provoked debate. The periodical was criticized by *Zora*, who wrote that the era of Serbian nationalism was over by then: "We also are in favor of a shared society and a shared conviction, but we do not support that one name of the people prevails above the other […]. *Srpska Omladina* should first define its aims […] and clarify them to those who follow it."[33]

Vladimir Gaćinović, as we learn from his correspondence, played an important behind-the-scenes role in the editing of *Srpska Omladina*.[34] This he confirmed to Trotsky. What is interesting is that he told Trotsky that he worked for the periodical *Omladina* ("Youth"), not *Srpska Omladina* ("Serbian Youth"). [35]

Several sources show that Borivoje Jevtić did the practical and organizational work, while Gaćinović wandered across the Balkans, providing themes and ideas. [36] The literary meetings Gaćinović organized in Sarajevo were much later described by Borivoje Jevtić in his memoirs as sinister gatherings in smoky, dark attics.[37] Would those *kruzoks*, the cells of the Black Hand, also have been involved in publishing youth periodicals? We cannot know and therefore every statement we make about it is based on mere speculation. However, various opinion articles or "open letters to the Serbian Youth" were published in the Black Hand's *Pijemont*, in which ideas were

[33] "Tri nova srednjoškolska lista" *Zora* 3 Nrs. 6–7–8 (1912), 366–370: 367–368.
[34] Letter of Vladimir Gaćinović to Milan Karanović, 28/07/1912 in: Vojislav Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna: Pisma i Prilozi*, 180–181.
[35] Lav Trotski, *Sarajevski Atentat* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1989), 16.
[36] Božidar Čerović, *Bosanski Omladinci i Sarajevski Atentat* (Sarajevo: Trgovačka Štamparija, 1930), 103–131.
[37] In: *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, 154.

proclaimed which can also be found in the youth periodical. At the same time, these articles were clearly written from the perspective of those affiliated with the older generation. The already established and indeed seventy-one-year-old Ljudevit Vuličević ("the Serbian Tolstoy") wrote an open letter to Serbian youth in *Pijemont*, in which he expressed his wish that they would determine the greater Serbian future.[38]

The first issue of *Srpska Omladina* was discussed in *Slovenski Jug* as follows:

> On the first of September here the first issue of youth magazine *Srpska Omladina* will be published. This periodical will be an organ of the Serbian Orthodox and Muslim Youth who support the national point of view. *All the political parties agree with the launch and direction of this periodical, and they will support them in a moral and financial way* [my emphasis]. Because this will fill a large and palpable gap in the education and organization of Serbian youth of any religious orientation, who will one day become National Workers.[39]

With this review, *Slovenski Jug* revealed the background and intentions of *Srpska Omladina*. Not so much the youth but "all the political parties" – referring to the several currents in the Bosnian Serb political elite – took the lead. In fact, the young were supposed to be educated and even molded into "national workers". This quote shows that this generation's distinctive rejection of its parents, as Robin Okey has put it, must be nuanced. Some of the youth took both money and ideas from the prior generation. The Vienna-based *Zora* expressed doubts about the autonomy of *Srpska Omladina*: "I emphasize that this periodical represents the survival of the 'All Serbian' idea, so it will be clear to everyone that the political leaders of Sarajevo stand behind this periodical, those who consider the unity of Serbs and Croats nothing more than 'a matter of tactics'".[40]

[38] Ljudevit Vuličević, "Srpska Omladina," *Pijemont* 22/08/1911.
[39] "Bosna i Hercegovina" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr 34 (1912) 269.
[40] "Tri nova srednjoškolska lista" *Zora* 3 Nr. 6–7–8 (1912), 366–370:367–368.

So there were, generally speaking, three perspectives on the Serbo-Croat rapprochement. First, it could be a real synthesis of two nations growing together into one. Second, it could represent just a temporary coalition, something pragmatic, a matter of tactics. Third, it could be seen as a futile name-game, following the argument that Serbs and Croats were the same anyway (so why bother with reconciliation…).

To summarize, *Srpska Omladina* was a short-lived periodical from Sarajevo that was strongly connected with the Bosnian Serb anti-Austrian movement of Sarajevo, and, to a lesser extent, with Belgrade. The editing was facilitated by the Bosnian Serb elite and the Prosvjeta institute. Hence, it can be seen as a propaganda channel of the first generation and not so much as a "pure" youth movement publication.

Val (1912) in Prague and Zagreb

The progressive movement, as it appeared in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War, was a result not so much of Serbian but rather of Croatian coalition-formation processes. Because there were progressives among the Serbian students in Vienna, who had rallied around *Zora*, it seemed obvious that the Croatian and Serbian liberals would reconcile with one another. The initiative for this reconciliation was already evident in the letter of Gavrilo Princip to Marko Maglov.

The most prominent progressive Croats, mostly university students and high-school pupils, presented themselves in 1912 through the youth periodical *Val* ("Wave"), published in Zagreb and distributed in Prague. *Val* was a continuation of *Hrvatski Đak* ("Croatian Pupil"), the much older Croatian youth periodical in Prague. *Val* wrote about the new name as follows:

> We have not continued to issue *Hrvatski Đak* for several reasons. Our new era has begun with the sign of a united work with the Serbian progressive youth, and that is the reason why *Val*, the herald of the Croatian and Serbian, the Serbian and Croatian youth, has

> become one, so that we, the youth and the youngest, understand and implement the principles of national unity. [41]

The main figures behind *Val* included individuals from the Zagreb circle around Dimitrije Mitrinović, including Vladimir Čerina and Krešimir Kovačić, and, from Split, Oskar Tartaglia and Matej Košćina.[42] The latter also wrote regularly for *Zora*.[43] Some of these students were studying in Belgrade or had studied there, and, as described in chapter 2, some of these students had become members of the Black Hand. This fact sheds a different light on the ideological orientation of *Val*. Yet *Val* pretended to be wholly independent. Matej Košćina wrote, in his article "Politics and Us":

> The idea that we are now only a revived form of the former Croatian progressive youth is a misconception. This understanding is perhaps [why] we have kept the name of the progressive youth. In us is not only united the Croatian and Serbian progressive youth, we are not any continuation, but we are a new group, a new Croatian-Serbian progressive youth. [...] We confirm that no party has our sympathy. Not even the Croatian-Serbian coalition, nor the Progressive Party in Dalmatia. We are their opponents, we are the opposition. Our movement's task for this year is that the youngest arouse resentment, hatred, backlash against the state in which we live. But this is not the aim of our political parties, who are currently the only signs of our national life. [44]

Interestingly, some of the students around *Val* came from the ranks of the Young Croats (and *Mlada Hrvatska*).[45] The similarities between the

---

[41] "Naša Riječ" *Val* 1. Nr. 1 (1912), 1–3.
[42] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 21.
[43] Matej Košćina, "O narodnom preporodu u Dalmaciji" *Zora* 2 Nr. 1–2 (1911), 40–44. The article is published as a feuilleton in the numbers 1–2, 3, 4–5, and 6–7.
[44] Matej Košćina, "Mi i politika" *Val* 1 Nr. 4 (1912), 37–40: 37.
[45] Luka Jukić, for example, the student who committed an attack on the Croatian ban in Zagreb, was initially a strong supporter of Croatian nationalism and had demonstrated against Serbian influence and "Belgrade propaganda". It is ironic that this boy sought out weapons in Belgrade to carry out attacks. See: Gross, "Studentski Pokret 1875–1914", 469; Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 265.

Young Croats and the radical Serbo-Croat Progressives is evinced by the quarrels fought by some former allies in the columns of both *Mlada Hrvatska* and *Val*.[46] About its Croatian nationalist counterpart, *Val* wrote that they were not "young" enough. They collaborated with the older generation, which in their discourse was a very serious offense: "These Young Croats have no ambition, as if they love to cut out clippings of antiquities […] They do not have anything new, anything 'pupil'-style (*đački*)".[47]

Given the logic of the Serbian-Croatian rapprochement, *Val*, accordingly, published its articles in both Cyrillic and Latin script. There were contributions from Belgrade, Zagreb and Prague. Even the Czech professor Tomáš Masaryk wrote several contributions that were published in the journal of the Croatian Serb youth in Prague.[48] A complete synthesis, not only between Serbian and Croatian progressives, but also with their Slovenian colleagues, took place at the University of Prague. Therefore, in 1912, the Serbian progressive youth periodical *Zora* moved from Vienna to Prague and renamed itself "the Herald of Serbian and Croatian Progressive Youth".

Zora in Prague (1912)

Besides for *Val*, Masaryk also wrote for *Zora* when he published there an article about "Nation and Nationality".[49] That was the most popular theme of the youth periodicals. To reconcile with the Croatian progressives, *Zora* changed its subtitle from "Serbian Progressives" to "Serbian and Croatian Progressives or Croatian and Serbian Progressives". Both names were on the title page, the one in Cyrillic and the other in Latin script.

[46] See, for example: Mile Budak, "Reprezentanti 'srpskohrvatskih' akademičara' *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 10 (1911), 309–310; "Naše Organizacije" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 11.
[47] "Naše Organizacije" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 11.
[48] Tomáš Masaryk, "Riječ Prof. Masaryka Hrvatskosrpskoj radikalnoj naprednoj omladini" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 1–3.
[49] Tomáš Masaryk, "Narod i Narodnost" *Zora* 3 Nr. 3 (1912), 97–103. His works had been discussed in *Zora*: Arnost Blaha, "Masarykove filozofske i sociološke teorije" *Zora* 2 Nr. 1–2 (1911), 65–73.

An interesting aspect marking the issues of *Zora* during its Prague period is its rapprochement with *Slovenian* students.[50] In 1912 *Zora* even included articles written in Slovenian. This connection to the Slovenian radical youth was forged rather late. There were several reasons for the belatedness of the link: the Slovenians were in general not oriented toward the Balkans, and their cultural contacts with Belgrade or even with Sarajevo were relatively rare. Zagreb and Ljubljana were much more connected, and there were many students studying at the universities in these cities. However, since Slovenia was not subject to the Hungarian but the Austrian crown, the political issues they had to deal with were often distinct to that situation. The Slovenians faced Germanization, but not in the same way that the Croats faced Magyarization. After contacts were established in the network between Prague and Vienna, there was more exchange of ideas and ideologies among the movements of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

Although the Slovenian language is quite different from Serbo-Croatian, and even though the nationalists believed that the identity of the South Slavs was grounded in language, there was nonetheless a growing belief that the South Slavs, including the Slovenians, could work together and would one day live together in a single state. The idea of a South Slavic state that would include Slovenians was not very popular among Slovenian students – certainly not in comparison with their peers in Zagreb and Belgrade. But one Ljubljana-based radical group was inspired by the South Slavs' progressive movements.[51] Once again, this group was centered on a periodical, in this case the Slovenian *Preporod* ("Revival"). As a propagandist, Vladimir Gaćinović

[50] Dedijer treats the connections to the Slovenian association extensively. Perhaps this is because Slovenians after 1918 (and after 1945) were inhabitants of Yugoslavia, too, which would make the connection – with the benefit of hindsight – interesting. However, in 1913 there was also a chance that Bulgarians would one day join a unified Yugoslav state. That this did not happen, and certainly would not have happened after the Serbian-Bulgarian Balkan War of 1913, may also explain the absence of the Bulgarian perspective in Yugoslav historiography. See: Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 279–290.

[51] See about the Slovenian pro-Yugoslav students: Oto Luthar, "Men Who Marched Away: WWI in the Memories of Slovenian Soldiers" in: Idem (ed.), *The Great War and Memory in Central and South-Eastern Europe* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016), 18-36.

affiliated himself in Vienna and Prague with the *Preporod* group.[52] He corresponded with the editorial board and brought them into contact with the editors of *Srpska Omladina* in Sarajevo.[53] According to Gaćinović, the Slovenians were "practical" and "sober", and, thus, perfectly complemented the "idealist", "dreamy" and "emotional" Bosnians.[54]

Those who presented themselves as the Slovenian radical young generation joined *Zora* in 1912. The final issue of 1912 was presented as the joint product of radical South Slavic youth from "Vienna-Prague-Zagreb-Ljubljana-Belgrade".[55] This stance of solidarity was a consequence of the First Balkan War, which had broken out in the fall of that year. The cooperation between Croato-Serbian or Serbo-Croat – or even Serb, Slovene and Croat –young progressives accelerated after the war started. Many volunteers from Croatia and even Slovenia went to Serbia to fight the Turks. This common enemy now fully engaged and united the progressive youth. Or, at least, *Zora* made it appear that way.

Vihor (1914) in Zagreb

The Balkan Wars caused most periodicals to stop being published. The turbulent events in Southern Serbia halted many initiatives. Some students volunteered for the army or joined guerrilla forces; others planned new conspiracies in their homelands; still others accepted the Austrian authorities' measures and returned to their books to study.

In 1914, after two years of war and at a time when the dust had seemingly settled, *Vihor* (Whirlwind) was launched in Zagreb. This periodical was the ultimate synthesis of everything that had been propagated by the previous youth periodicals: Serbo-Croat collaboration, youthful activism and, last but not least, the complete overthrow of the old order. *Vihor* began and ceased within the year (the year, of course, when World War I broke out), but in its short existence

[52] He writes about this in his letters to Leon Trotsky: Trocki, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 14–16.
[53] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Volume I*, 285–290.
[54] Trocki, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 16.
[55] *Zora*, 3 Nr. 6–7–8 (1912).

it gave a rather good impression of the – indeed – whirlwind-like atmosphere of the progressive youth movement. Among its contributors were Dimitrije Mitrinović, the people behind *Val*, such as Matej Košćina and Vladimir Čerina, and the Bosnian writer and activist Ivo Andrić, who wrote poems, reviews, and articles for the publication. Interestingly, most animosities and contrasts among members of different groups seem to have fallen away in *Vihor*. Some articles were even written by former Young Croats from the Starčević movement, who now joined the ranks of the Progressives.[56] These shifting ideas and coalitions are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The periodicals that I have discussed here were all nationalist in character. They presented themselves variously as Croat, Serb, Croato-Serb, Serbo-Croat and Yugoslav. The different periodicals were allied with nationalist, sometimes progressive and in most cases nationalist-progressive movements in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, and in most cases they had followers in all these areas. Although the periodicals presented themselves as being the heralds of the young, older political or sometimes religious leaders – possessing financial resources, and providing young editors access to their extensive networks – very often pulled the strings. This is exemplified in the obvious connections between the Belgrade-based Slovenski Jug and the "youth periodicals" of Serbian Youth and Zora. There is no question about that. Nevertheless, in the dynamic interplay among the different youth periodicals, some quite new and unique ideas were born and developed - ideas that were not nurtured by the so-called first generation.

5.3: National Identities

If at least something of an ideology can be discerned in the ideas nurtured among the progressive youth movements, we can detect it by looking at the articles in the youth periodicals. The students were inspired by nationalism, but also by modernism, futurism, racism and socialism. I have analyzed a wide variety of articles from Z*ora*, *Val*, *Mlada Hrvatska*, *Vihor*, *Slovenski Jug*, and *Srpska Omladina*. For

[56] Ilija Despot, "Ja sam Nacionalista" *Vihor* 1 Nr. 1 (1914), 18.

reasons of demarcation, I have grouped these articles under the following major themes: 1) national identities; 2) what it means to be young; and 3) the future of Bosnia and Hercegovina. To get a better view of what these youth periodicals exactly meant by this vague thing called "national action", I discuss these topics one by one, and I will conclude with an overview of their ideas about how the future of Bosnia and Hercegovina would have to be made.

Nationalism: a definition

Nationalism was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, first and foremost a *progressive* force, directed toward breaking down conservative multiethnic empires. Therefore, youth periodicals paid much attention to the question of nationalism, which was often related to terms such as the "education" and "elevation" of the people. A nation meant for them the mass of ignorant peasants and artisans who perhaps were in harmony with their surroundings but were not yet imbued with the idea of being part of that very nation. Hence nationalism, not as a question of identity but as an awareness or a focus of activity, had to be defined.

So then, in this context, what was nationalism? Borivoje Jevtić explained in his manifesto-like article for *Srpska Omladina* that youth should take up the unceasing task of making the common people aware of national solidarity. In his article "The New Generation", he tried to define nationalism:

> Nationalism is not a thing that comes by itself, something that is received by infants sucking mother's milk. It is certain that some national germ appears peculiar to all young and new individuals of one race, but then it needs to be expanded and established through upbringing, just like with morality. We come into the world with the most primitive seeds which need to grow: because if they're not treated gently, they are always on the way to withering away or being completely quelled. It is scientifically proven, and there is no doubt about it.[57]

[57] Borivoj Jevtić, "Nove Generacije" *Srpska Omladina* 1 Nr. 5 (1913), 89–91.

In this article, Jevtić underlined the freshness of nationalism: it was to be understood as a new ideology that would bring the world's culture to a higher level: "Nationalism is open-minded, it is a broad and sympathetic feeling of duty towards one's own nation, and the fulfillment of these duties".[58] At the same time, the new nationalism would no doubt claim victims when necessary. Jevtić also described this future phase of nationalism, and its inevitable victims:

> Our new youth, the youth who are educated in schools today, those who learn crafts and trade, often travel far away from their native soil, and ultimately, this youth who has graduated, who finished the craft school, who has been enriched with ideas and experiences, who has become sober, serious and prudent, but, still, with a young heart, makes a beautiful and significant step forward. [...] His nationalism is not the way it should be. And when it comes down to general sympathy, to the step-by-step work, to lively love, then it is not real nationalism in the truest sense. This is not a fighter, he does not dare, does not hope for beautiful and better days. [...] I understand this nationalism as a great song living among us, a song of people who are connected in their souls and deeds. And on top of that, I understand it as work, not as a word, as life, not as an image of life. Only these are the healthy conditions for a favorable growth, and for success, in the end.[59]

Nationalism was juxtaposed against patriotism. The former was a fresh, modern and positive ideology, the latter something that had existed for much longer – something old-fashioned and passive.[60] In the eyes of the young, patriotism was an old concept of solidarity that was connected to the practices of everyday life.[61] Nationalism, in contract, embodied

[58] Ibidem.
[59] Ibidem, 90.
[60] Milan Marjanović, "Za hrvatski nacionalizam" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr. 11 (1912), 80–81.
[61] This is discussed in the chapter about identifications in the Ottoman Empire, in Part I.

the mission of the new generation, a new era. Milan Marjanović, a Croatian Progressive, explained this in one of his articles:

> There is a great difference between patriotism and nationalism, just as there is a great difference between honor and social power, between the value of a person according to his title and social status and the value of a person according to his stature and real worth. Patriotism is love of one's home, love of one's country and place of birth, but at the same time nationalism is not only patriotism and love of one's people, but also something more: it is a deep feeling of unity with the whole nation, a deep feeling of being one with a nation.[62]

Nationalism and patriotism were, on their side, juxtaposed against chauvinism, the worst of all ideologies. Chauvinism was equivalent to religiously and ethnically inspired hatred; it was outmoded and anachronistic barbarism. *Val* wrote: "In a national sense we are nationalists, and not chauvinists. Our national thought is: Croato-Serbian, our nationality is Serbo-Croatian. We are democrats, only open-minded, and radical. Our view of the world is not dogmatic nor religious. It is based on scientific foundations".[63]

The idea that nationalism was a *creative* force, akin to what modernist writers of nationalism such as Gellner and Hobsbawm would much later conclude, was already taken for granted by the progressive youth here. Progressive magazines with a strong Serbian nationalist imprint, such as *Srpska Omladina*, as well as the more collaborative Serbo-Croatian periodicals, such as *Val*, believed that the nation had to be *created* through the agency of the people. *Val* wrote that "the people do create not the present but the future. That […] that is nationalism".[64]

This quote shows how the youth movement, and more particularly the young people in the *Val* circle, used historical consciousness, or rather the "awareness of time", to provide themselves with an identity. This orientation was symptomatic of many early-

[62] Milan Marjanović, "Za hrvatski nacionalizam" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr. 11 (1912), 80–81.
[63] "Naša Riječ" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 1.
[64] "Zadaća omladine u narodnoj borbi" *Val* 1 Nr. 1 (1912), 3–5:5.

twentieth-century movements, institutions and individuals, and applied to almost all youth movements in the age of modernity.[65] Positioning oneself in between what came before and what will be became, in modern times, the optimal means to create and further shape an identity.

Nationalism: a way of life

Young intellectuals wrote in these periodicals about different methods to implement the "force of nationalism" and how to spread the national "virus". Some of these notions were presented in *Zora*. First, every young person had to behave in the spirit of the national ideas. In practice, this meant they had to aspire to a healthy life, stay away from alcohol, express their solidarity with the people and strive to practice the greatest honesty with themselves and others. Second, they were required to spread the national message, by means of direct conversations with individuals. Third, as an extension of such face-to-face evangelism, they had to write, publish, and distribute their nationalist arguments through the press.[66] The instructions ended with the exhortation: "This work is some kind of struggle. It is an unusual fight, it demands everything of your personality, without any promise. These workers should be conscious of the motto on their flags: Nothing for myself, and all of me for the people".[67]

Pero Slijepčević wrote in *Zora* that the situation in Bosnia was especially difficult: the level of "national work" there was still very low, and the people, though perhaps aware of some national tasks, did not make the effort to become more actively engaged:

> Our patriotism is still the patriotism of the masses, that is, a feeling and something synthetic, and blurred, indefinite at the basis, it does not have ideological clarity and solidity […] A majority of us thinks that patriotism is to give (or to take) fees for membership, to attend assembly sessions, elections and events, in the best case to take care of the belief in national progress, and, eventually, despite all the

[65] Robbert Jan Adriaansen, *The Rhythm of Eternity: The German Youth Movement and the Experience of the Past, 1900–1933* (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 2.
[66] "Zadace naše inteligencije u narodnom preporodu" *Zora* 3 Nr. 2 (1912), 73–75:74.
[67] Ibidem, 75.

> external obstacles, in other words, it is just the belief in national leaders and workers.[68]

Slijepčević defined the word *borba* (struggle) in a different way than his colleague Borivoje Jevtić had characterized it in *Srpska Omladina*. Interestingly, here he pointed to the striking difference between the older and younger generations. According to Slijepčević, the new generation should express nationalism through mental work: duller and less romantic than what had been accomplished in an earlier generation, but nonetheless necessary, and to be undertaken at all costs to lift up the people and to fight the misconduct of those in power. The youth should not think it sufficient to learn epic folk poetry by heart or "to fight with a rifle". No, says Slijepčević, there is more to do than that:

> How many times has the ignorance of today's youth been criticized – especially in comparison with those who died between the 1860s and the 1880s. That is rather incorrect. The work of that previous generation was psychologically more romantic, more interesting, and easier than today would be possible. If today that kind of work would have been enough and sufficient, the youth of today would be like the old. But this is no era for enthusiasm in assemblies or for epic folk poetry […], to fight with a rifle, a feeling which is so close to our temperament. But this is a boring and barren time of mind-work […] where people can achieve much more with nice talk than they are supposed to.[69]

Before the Balkan Wars, these activities of work and struggle, recurrently articulated, must certainly be understood in a *metaphorical* way. The national struggle was, according to Slijepčević in *Zora*, not a fight, but rather a far-from-heroic and sometimes boring activity. The younger generation had the responsibility to educate people to feel solidarity with one another and to develop a national consciousness. This sense of nationalism had strong social overtones, as is obvious in the paragraphs quoted above from *Zora* and *Val*. Within the context of

[68] Pero Slijepčević, "O narodnom radu naše omladine" *Zora* 1 Nr. 1 (1910), 21–26:23.
[69] Ibidem.

this nationalism, the main task was to build up a society, where peasants, artisans and intellectuals would work not for themselves but for the society as a whole.

In 1912, however, the situation rapidly changed. Nationalism, as a way of life, became more militant and perhaps even violent. In an article for *Slovenski Jug* Dimitrije Mitrinović wrote about national work (*"nacionalni rad"*) and national war (*"nacionalni rat"*) within one sentence.[70] He remained vague about this *rad/rat* analogy, but the background was very clear: the First Balkan War had started. In the same article, Mitrinović also played with aspects of "race" and "ethnicity". In particular, Mitrinović often stressed that that one had to "live through" the nation, and "feel the nation" in one's own "blood". This non-pragmatic, existential and partly racist notion of national identity was an extremely sensitive matter – as it was also in the youth periodicals. When Franjo Supilo, the leader of the Croato-Serb coalition, was asked to write something for *Zora*, he hesitated then agreed, but wrote:

> It is too early to come up with a certain party-political idea about the national work and action. It can be, at best, [a way] to talk about some specific ideas and direction. [...] I can devote a few words to it, but it is a complicated issue. And it is very complicated for today's situation, in which our people of the Serbian and Croatian names find themselves situated. And it is especially hard, if we take into account the situation of those who live in previous or today's border regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. And it is not known whether it applies to the Croats and Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the Serbs and Croats in Croatia.[71]

Supilo's words show not only his own risky position as the leader of a shaky coalition of Serbs and Croats in Zagreb, or the problematic position of that same coalition in the Austro-Hungarian political snakepit, but also the unknown directions of this national work as long

[70] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Pred raskrsnicom" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr 4 (1912), 25–27:25.
[71] Franjo Supilo, "Omladina i Narod" *Zora* 1 Nr 6–7 (1910), 225–227:225.

as national identity was disputed and questioned by a wide variety of organizations, associations, protest movements and individuals.

Mi and oni – Claiming identity

In the years of rapprochement, the identity question was for many progressives a matter of a wondrous mutual metamorphosis among Serbs and Croats. Everything Serbian "was also Croatian", and vice versa. In 1913 Oskar Tartaglia wrote, as editor of the Croatian magazine *Zastava* ("Flag"), "We are fully Croatian […], and that means for us that we are Serbian and Slovenian".[72] Milan Marjanović wrote in his 1913 book *Contemporary Croatia*: "The Croatian nation is not complete without Serbia and the Serb without the Croatian."[73] The "Serbo-Croats" were already being criticized at that time for their constant metamorphosis. Cvjetko Popović, one of the conspirators in the 1914 assassination, would later write about the Progressives: "They combined the Serbian and Croatian three colors: red, blue, white, red ... that's why we called them the chameleons."[74]

Crucial to the debate was the word *mi* (we). This centrality must also be attributed to the Serbian-Croatian language, where *mi, nas, naši* (we, our, ours) have very strong connotations. The inclusion and exclusion of Serbs and Croats could be played as – indeed – a chameleonic game. Dimitrije Mitrinović was very skillful in dealing with the use of *mi*. In his articles about Ivan Meštrović for *Slovenski Jug* and the *Serbian Literary Herald*, he proved to be a master of the *mi*-game: "In the Serbian pavilion […] they presented the works of a few of our Serbian and Croatian artists, Serbian or Croatian, 'ours' in the broadest and most beautiful sense of the word …".[75] Another article about a Croatian writer noted: "Vladimir Nazor is our poet: he is ours, Serbian, because he is a Croatian poet … He, especially, as a Croat, is much more Serb in his poetry, than most Serbian poets are Serbs; he is

[72] Oskar Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik* (Zagreb-Split: Albrecht, 1928), 75.
[73] Milan Marjanović, *Savremena Hrvatska* (Belgrade: Srpska Knjizevna Zadruga, 1913), VII. More about Marjanović in: Banac, *National Question of Yugoslavia*, 101.
[74] Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 97.
[75] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Srbi i Hrvati na međunarodnoj umjetničkoj izložbi u Rimu" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne* II, 170–184:170. Originally published in *Srpski Književni Glasnik* 26 (1911) 717–727.

a man of race, a poet of a healthy race, who feels the Slavic, Croatian, Serbian; *our* very race…".[76]

In *Mlada Hrvatska* the claim of Croats as being part of *mi*, or the denial of Croatian identity, was strongly criticized. The Young Croats, however, fought back with the same sort of rhetoric. In reaction to Mitrinović's articles about an art exhibition in Rome, the Young Croats wrote that their great sculptor, Ivan Meštrović, who was excessively praised and applauded by Dimitrije Mitrinović, was not "one of us", in fact was "no longer a Croat". [77] The Serbian question was regularly discussed in *Mlada Hrvatska*. For example, the editors claimed that Croats should actively resist the aggressive nationalist claims of the Serbs. Serbs in Croatia did not even have the right to call themselves Serbs.[78] Basically, the Young Croats persisted with the same logic as their opponents, and mirrored them: one Young Croat, for example, rhetorically asked why there were so many Serbian schools in Croatia, because, if Serbs and Croats were one people, why wouldn't Serbs just go to Croatian schools?[79]

Claims about "our" sculptor Ivan Meštrović were often put forth in *Srpska Omladina*. A certain Stjepo Kobasica wrote the articles "Serbian Catholics", which also discussed the Serb or Croat identity of Ivan Meštrović. He stated that the first generation had not done enough to "nationalize" the Bosnian Croats. The moment to do so had now arrived: "It is the duty of us, the youth, to pay attention to awaken the Serbian consciousness not only among the Muslims, but also among the Catholics."[80]

A Dalmatian student characterizing himself as a Serbo-Croat Progressive then wrote to the editor of *Srpska Omladina* and stated that he had no problem with any mutual collaboration, unless they kept on publishing articles like the one written by Stjepo Kobasica in the latest issue:

---

[76] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Lirika Vladimira Nazora" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne* II, 199–202:199. Originally published in *Bosanska Vila* 26 (1911), 7–8.
[77] "Umjetnička Izložba" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 3–4 (1911), 129–134.
[78] "Mladohrvatsko prema srpstvu i slavenstvu uopće" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 7 (1911).
[79] "Srpske nacionale škole u Hrvatskoj" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 3–4 (1911), 107.
[80] Stjepo Kobasica, "Srbi Katolici" *Srpska Omladina* 1 Nr. 5 (1913), 97–98.

> You could have left out that article of Kobasica, because it is these days very stupid and ridiculous to put so much energy in proving that Meštrović is a Serb, and not a Croat […] I hope that you will understand this, and that you will avoid such things in the future, and that you will keep on trying to develop our national principles more and more intensively. I stress that you, as the representative of your periodical, can show yourself in our periodical as an agitator of national unity and national unification of all Serbs and all Croats![81]

The naming and framing of the Croats as Serbs was also strongly criticized in the last Prague issue of *Zora*:

> We are not like *Srpska Omladina*, who sort our people by confessions, we go for the collaborative work of Serbs and Croats and Muslims. […] We consider it harmful and offensive that the Bosnian Serbs generalize all Croatian people with a few clerical deputies who see the only salvation in Austria. […] Instead, our high school students know very well that in the Bosnian classrooms *a new Croatian generation is educated* [my emphasis], that feels and recognizes the fraternal blood and that, in a few years, will form a powerful Serbo-Croatian youth, which in one season will grow a common national idea, growing out far above the close-to-the-ground Austrian kale.[82]

Who are the Yugoslavs?

The progressives on both sides increasingly tried to avoid the question of identity – and the answer. *Mlada Hrvatska* and *Srpska Omladina* were the two extremes on a spectrum which rapidly was filled with Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serb progressives. Meanwhile, in these years some art events took place, which openly expressed "Yugoslav" identity and unity. These events were mostly organized by *Slovenski Jug* in Belgrade. In the period from 1904 to 1912, under the guidance

[81] Letter Milistisav Bartulica (editor of *Naprednjak* from Šibenik) to Borivoje Jevtić, 17/02/1913, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna: Pisma I prilozi*, 192–193.
[82] "Tri nova srednjoškolska lista" *Zora* 3 Nr. 6–7–8 (1912), 366–370:367–368.

of *Slovenski Jug*, artists organized four large "Yugoslav" exhibitions in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sofia, and another in Belgrade. Between 1904 and 1906 the "Yugoslav journalists" held four meetings in both Austria-Hungary and Serbia. And in 1905 there was a large congress of Yugoslav writers held in Belgrade. In 1911 the Croatian opera performed in Belgrade for a wildly enthusiastic audience.[83]

This Serbo-Croat identity was constantly reinvented by youth periodicals. After 1912 the development went very rapidly. The Balkan Wars speeded up the rapprochement. The idea that the complicated shell game of "Serbo-Croats" and "Croato-Serbs" could perhaps be solved by introducing a new identity was articulated by the Croatian progressive Milan Marjanović, who wrote that because the Turks had destroyed "all" identity, the population once ruled by the Ottomans was now ready to adopt a completely new identity.[84] He thought that in this imagined void, a *tabula rasa* of identities, the best solution would be to somehow plant the seed of a new Yugoslav Serbo-Croat identity. The youth could take up this task.

In a less chaotic geopolitical and local situation this concept would probably have found resonance only among marginal radicals, especially because it was quite controversial. However, during the Balkan Wars many Croatian students became immersed in a mood of Serbophilia. What followed next was a rapid integration of the Serbo-Croat and Croato-Serb progressive movements, and the implementation of Yugoslavism, all served up in the sauce of a heroic war footing. *Vihor,* the Croatian progressive youth periodical, was the chief organ spreading this new spark of integrative Yugoslavism. In a review of the Vojvodinian-based magazine *Novi Srbin* ("The New Serb"), *Vihor* hardly questioned the magazine's exceedingly "Serbian" discourse, and praised this new periodical as a new initiative of the Croato-Serbs or Croatian Serb progressives.[85] Criticism of the Serbian nationalist discourse, as it had been articulated in *Val* and *Zora*, was now absent. *Vihor*'s colophon actually shows that this periodical was now fully integrated and had become a Yugoslav periodical. Even the ever-hazy

[83] Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt: Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890–1914* (Beograd, Udruženje za društvene istorije, 2008), 233.
[84] Ivo Banac, *National Question in Yugoslavia*, 101.
[85] Milan Košić, "Novi Srbin" *Vihor* 1 Nr. 1 (1914), 12–14.

nationalist Dimitrije Mitrinović dared to make the transition to a new *mi*: the *mi* of Yugoslavia. In 1914 he wrote the article "For Yugoslavia!" for *Vihor*.[86] By adopting the term "Yugoslavia", the contrast between us and them, between Serbs and Croats, was seemingly resolved. There was now another form of us-versus-them, and that was the contrast between the Serbo-Croat progressives on one hand, and all other currents and movements on the other.

To summarize, the identity question in the periodicals was very difficult to answer, as Franjo Supilo had already concluded in his guest contribution to *Zora*. These periodicals were edited by representatives of a not fully mature generation of two related peoples who were trying to find each other without having the appropriate key to doing so. "Youth" as a keyword seemed to build the bridge, but apparently it was not enough. A young Bosnian who lived in the same Belgrade flat as Gavrilo Princip later concluded: "If a historian would study all phases of the Yugoslav idea in the revolutionary youth of 1914 carefully, he could only come to one correct conclusion, and that is that the Yugoslav idea had come to the youth from the inside."[87] That interpretation sounds grandiose, but whoever looks at the contributions to the periodicals that really were associated with the older generation (*Slovenski Jug, Pijemont, Narod*) would conclude that youth mobilization was part of a bigger plan. There are so many articles written about the strongly wished mobilization of the youg that it seems implausible that the idea had been developed solely among the young. The youth took their chances, but these chances were given by someone, and were not offered for nothing.

5.4 What it means to be young

The old and the young

The "old" and "young" were, of course, very popular subjects to discuss. These were, in the end, *youth* periodicals. There are three conclusions to draw from the intergenerational stories of the

[86] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Za Jugoslaviju!" *Vihor* 1 Nr. 5 (1914), 81–83.
[87] Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter*, 28–29.

periodicals. First, youth activity was often orchestrated by their elders, specifically by those in power. There was constant interaction between the activities of the young people and the propaganda of rulers, the political elite and the military leadership. Second, the new emphasis on youth was also inspired by youthful energy and adolescent confusion. The young wanted to oppose their elders because they felt themselves to be punks *avant-la-lettre* who needed to resist the older generation. Third, the feeling of a "new" condition, the feeling of living in a new and mostly confusing time, was by that time part of an international spirit: technological and spiritual change brought out a "dilemma of modernity".[88]

The first aspect, the intergenerational contact, is best exemplified by the Black Hand's *Pijemont*. In its first issues, *Pijemont* unveiled a program which included very clear statements about youth recruitment for the *komitet*: "In the recent past the Serbian četniks have given wonderful examples and the name of the četnik is now widely respected. Thus we must now also include those who are dearest to us: our sober youth".[89] The message was clear: the youth should be mobilized for the military. This was also *Slovenski Jug*'s message, although they articulated it in a different way. In the first years of *Slovenski Jug* after the change of power in Serbia, there was still relatively little attention paid to the role of youth. Its first issues contained a few articles about student demonstrations in Vienna.[90] But the temper of the periodical changed after the student demonstrations of 1912, and *Slovenski Jug* began writing almost exclusively about the "new era" and the "new youth". It was stirred by the fever of youthfulness and the power of youth rebellion. *Slovenski Jug*, hence, saw the accommodation of youth initiatives as its task. Several southern Slav student congresses took place in Belgrade – almost all of them facilitated by *Slovenski Jug*.[91] When Croatian Serbophile students

[88] These dilemma's of modernity in terms of time and speed have been focal points in: Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason: European Thought 1848-1914* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000); Philipp Blom, *Vertigo Years: Europe 1900-1914* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).
[89] *Pijemont*, 9/11/1911.
[90] "Kretanje Omladine" *Slovenski Jug* 1 Nr. 2 (1903), 3.
[91] "Jugoslavenska Studentska Kongres u Beogradu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 4–5 (1910), 145.

visited the University of Belgrade, *Slovenski Jug* described this event in the following way:

> Our university students consider this meeting as the preamble of a beautiful future for the Serbian and Croatian people. […] There is rejoicing about the unanimous enthusiasm of the Croatian youth, who have come to sincerely confess the sublime truth, which is in the soul of every Croat and Serb. Since that day our youth have wanted to create a great national celebration, a great day, of Harmony, Brotherhood and Unity.[92]

The "youth" also seemed to need guidance from mentors who belonged to the previous generation. In the opening article of *Zora*'s first issue in 1911 the esteemed geographer Jovan Cvijić wrote about how the youth should organize and present itself. He said: "The breath of the new generation is felt, it will, with higher energy, turn towards the national life, of which the pulse beats stronger: and because of that our community will touch the national nerve, which is today not yet the case".[93]

But besides these agreements and points of collaboration between the older and younger generations, there were also tensions – some of them visible in the periodicals. The idea of a generation gap, for example, was mentioned by different authors in different youth periodicals. Earlier I quoted Slijepčević, who wrote that the new generation needed to work on more complex issues and did not, like the first generation, need to lift their swords or guns. Some authors were worried about such a generation gap. Živojin Dačić wrote in *Zora*:

> We, the educated sons of the people, who should take our people to a new, progressive and happier life; we are alienated from our nation. We came ourselves, or via our father, or, even further away, via our grandfather, from the ranks of the people, from the small peasant huts or the narrow workshop houses, we have forgotten

[92] Dobr. Adamović, "Pred dolazak Hrvat. i Srp. Studenata iz Zagreba" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr. 13 (1912) 100.
[93] Jovan Cvijić, "Nova Generacija" *Zora* 2 Nr. 1–2 (1911), 1–6: 2.

> about the environment where we belong. We are enchanted by that what we often only superficially have seen among the neighboring nations we deem progressive and enlightened, and we have quickly grasped what we are: we have alienated ourselves from our homes, we have adopted foreign customs, and we have loved only that, which is not ours.[94]

In another article one younger author emphasized that the youth's ties with the society of their fathers should not be cut off, especially because the new era had not yet been realized:

> Our needs are substantial. The new conditions have destroyed all ties with the old patriarchal way of life: while the old is destroyed, the new has not yet been created, it has only been initiated […] Our life is not yet organized, our intelligentsia does not have its own program. These disorderly cultural conditions gave room for the development of various types of intellectuals, who seem to have difficulties agreeing even about their basic views.[95]

All the periodicals more or less agreed that the new youth ought to be socially involved, optimistic and activist. In this regard one author listed three kinds of youth: first, those who get drunk in the pub and destroy themselves accordingly; second, those who only take care of their own problems, the "*karijerista*", interested only in getting jobs in the bureaucracy; and, third, the socially motivated, idealist youth.[96] A similar tripartite division made by another author enabled him to oppose himself against the bookworms, the intellectuals only interested in theory, or – even more harmful – in aesthetics.[97]

Similar accusations of decadence were hurled at the Young Croats. *Mlada Hrvatska* criticized youthful laziness, stupidity and drunkenness. During holidays, the students should not be idle at home but, instead, go into the villages and the fields to save the people from illiteracy and from various backward ideas:

---

[94] Živojin Dačić, "Vratite se u svome narodu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 2 (1910), 64–67: 65.
[95] Djuro Orlić, "Inteligencija u narodu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 4–5 (1910), 159–161:160.
[96] Slavko Šečerov, "Zadaci i nacela naše omladine" *Zora* 1 Nr 2 (1910), 67–70.
[97] Orlić, "Inteligencija u narodu", 160–161.

> How many of our youth spend their holidays in the pub, the tavern or in the pleasant shade, without realizing how such behavior damages the nation! One has to start working systematically to socially educate our people. In my opinion, what would be most convenient would be to establish a youth association of school pupils who will socially educate the people. If they can work tenaciously for the people, with help of the economically better situated intelligentsia, our country can become another Norway in ten years.[98]

This pessimism about the current generation was not shared by the radical progressive youth periodicals from Prague, such as *Val* and *Vihor*. These periodicals articulated a more authentic, rebellious youthful message. *Val* wrote in 1912 that the older generation had completely failed:

> Aspirations of the children are reactions to the mistakes of the fathers. Everywhere and always the children are against the fathers, they have different opinions about the targets and the duties of the intelligentsia … [...] We care that we will be better, more skilled, more valuable, stronger, and more daring than our fathers, because this is actually the whole program and the whole reason for our efforts. We get up and we work on the insurrection and rebellion against the "old", against our intelligentsia, because what have they given and left us? No liberty, no culture, no force, no progress![99]

Eventually, the strongly felt sentiment of "being young" was, besides being a consequence of top-down propaganda and quite normal teenage angst, also a phenomenon of that particular time. In the periodicals there are plenty of references to Young Italy, Young Belgium, the Young Czechs and the Young Russians. Zora regularly reported about the student unrest at Central European universities, for example in Cracow

[98] Ivan Žilić, "Rad omladine u narodu" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 1 (1912).
[99] "Naša Riječ" Vol 1 Nr. 1 (1912) 1–2.

and in Germany.[100] This international outlook shows that the youth periodicals' readers were influenced by this politicized youthfulness that had been integrated into many ideologies and national visions.

However, the concept of "youth" was also linked to a more metaphysical understanding of time, which was ventilated in several writings of controversial artists of that time. In 1911, Dimitrije Mitrinović would enroll at the arts faculty of the Munich University and get acquainted with the works of, among others, the avant-garde Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky. In that same year Kandinsky wrote *On the Spiritual in Art*, an exposé about the new forms and artistic language he envisioned, and how that would represent the end of the age of materialism. It is known that, in the last year before the outbreak of the Great War, Kandinsky and Mitrinović were planning to collaborate on a second yearbook of the Blue Rider (Der blaue Reiter) art collective.[101] Hence, the notion of being young was not only about the political and social elevation of the South Slavic people, but also about the cultural if not artistic mission of a new generation in the broader context of the entire human civilization.

"Moderna" – the Dilemmas of Modernity

When Virginia Woolf famously dated the beginning of modern times to 1910, she was not likely thinking first and foremost of the peripheral corners of the Balkans.[102] But this "turn-of-the-century consciousness" was also present in Bosnia, albeit only among the small, isolated, elite

[100] Prokopije Uzelac, "Nemir na krakovskom sveučilištu" *Zora* 2 (1911) 80–81; Vasilj Popović, "Njemački univerzeti u radu za slobodu i ujedinjenje njemačke" *Zora* 2 (1911) 102–120.
[101] Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006 [1912]); Shulamith Behr, "Wassily Kandinsky and Dimitrije Mitrinovic; Pan-Christian Universalism and the Yearbook - Towards the Mankind of the Future through Aryan Europe" *Oxford Art Journal* 15, No. 1 (1992), pp. 81-88; David Graham Page, *Dimitrije Mitrinović: Chameleon, Good European, and Exiled Yugoslavist.* (University of British Columbia; unpublished MA-thesis, 2005).
[102] In 1924, Virginia Woolf dated the beginning of modernity to 1910: "The human character changed. I am not saying that one went out, as one might into a garden, and there saw that a rose had flowered, or that a hen had laid an egg. The change was not sudden and definite like that. But a change there was, nevertheless." Edwin J. Kenney, "The Moment: 1910: Virginia Woolf, Arnold Bennett, and Turn of the Century Consciousness" *Colby Quarterly* 13 nr. 1 (1977) 42–66.

intellectual vanguard of the youth that was educated abroad. Local cultural periodicals were puzzled by the new multifaceted society characterized by speed, abstract art and Freudian fears. This international notion of modernity was joined with a local debate in the Bosnian youth periodicals. The contrast between tradition and modernity was a recurring theme in the cultural debate in Serbia and thus, of course, also in Bosnia.[103]

After the coup d'état of 1903, the Serbian cultural elite shifted its attention in ways that had international and cultural dimensions. A good example of this change was the hundredth-anniversary commemoration of the Serbian uprising of 1804, which unfolded through several major events in 1904. There was an art exhibition and a writer's symposium, both aimed at disseminating national Serbian (or Yugoslav) culture. Many academics in Serbia called this period a golden age of cultural progress: artists were breathing a new air. At this time certain poets introduced French symbolism as a sequel to the earlier and especially popular importation of Russian realism (of, among others, Chernyshevsky).

But with the annexation crisis of 1908 and subsequent events, the cultural tide turned again. From 1908 onwards, modernity was often negatively associated with cosmopolitan influences right at the time when Serbia needed "proper" patriotism. Through modernism, the youth might become alienated from the fatherland.[104] This contrast between modernity and tradition, between the international and the national and between self and other was pivotal in not only literature but all art forms.[105] The struggle with *Moderna* was often centered on contrasts: collective–individual (and collectivism and individualism) and optimism–pessimism. Most striking was the intensively felt notion of a new time, the understanding that one inhabited a new age, in between past and future.

---

[103] Milojkovic-Djukic, *Tradition and Avant-Garde*, v.
[104] Živojin Dačić, "Vratite se u svome narodu" *Zora* 1 Nr. 2 (1910), 64–67.
[105] Modernity was, in this respect, a social and cultural, if not historical dilemma. An interesting account of the "struggle with modernity" is to be found in Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1998), 173-214.

Modernity: individuals and collectives

This first theme, individualism, was certainly problematic for the radical and revolutionary youth who wanted to liberate the enslaved peoples of the Slavic South. To clarify this issue, Pero Slijepčević discussed the relationship between *Moderna* and "us" in a series of articles for *Zora*. He considered the people in Bosnia to be unaware of modernism and modernity. He observed that Bosnians had stereotypical ideas about modernists: decadent, lacking national consciousness, writing vague and illegible texts, confusing society and the nation.[106] These assumptions were not entirely false. Some youth periodicals echoed irrational fears about modernism and the modern age. In a review of the art exhibition in Rome in *Mlada Hrvatska*, one writer asserted that "the Poles went completely in the wrong direction" and would continue to do so if they continued to create modernist art. *Mlada Hrvatska* judged the abstract Polish contributions to be ugly and decadent.[107]

What was more, modernity seemed incompatible with solidarity. Slijepčević thus explained that the modernists were indeed more focused on the "self", trying to grasp the inner rather than the external world. This focus, however, did not give them a reason to hide from society or to seal themselves off from it. Slijepčević explained that individualism and individual freedom could even lead to better, more elevated nations. Slijepčević "mapped" modernist expressive modes, by which he meant that the individual expression through poetry was empowering the national consciousness: European modernist poetry was based on French emotion and style; then the Scandinavians brought structure into it, and ideas; and, eventually, the Russians brought to it a strong will, not to say a people's will.[108] Slijepčević praised Belgian francophone poets and compared them with those of the Serbs in Bosnia. Belgium, which after all was a small country, was on the border between different cultural "spheres" (Germanic/Romanic). Second, in the Belgians' poems there was a great deal of room for the lyrical expression of the suffering of the people, especially the peasants, living

[106] Pero Slijepčević, "Moderna i mi" *Zora* 2 Nr. 3 (1911), 110–16.
[107] "Umjetnička Izložba" *Mlada Hrvatska* 4 Nr. 3–4 (1912), 129–34.
[108] Pero Slijepčević, "Moderna i mi" *Zora* 2 Nr. 4–5 (1911), 172–80: 172–73.

in picturesque but also brutal countryside areas. These themes in Belgian poetry struck a nerve with Slijepčević, and, in his view, the example of these poems could be (culturally) transferred to the small Bosnian Serb cultural avant-garde. That same year he wrote an essay of more than thirty pages introducing the movement *Jeune Belgique* (Young Belgium).[109]

Modernist art, hence, was understood in national contexts. To be modern, but at the same time not to abandon national ideals, required something of a synthesis. Nobody could write better about such a synthesis than Dimitrije Mitrinović, whose life had in fact been driven by synthesis. He wrote: "To be modern and to be a man of today means the same thing. Modernism is not something stagnating and absolute, and one: it is a relative phenomenon exposed to constant changes".[110] According to Mitrinović, the only way forward was to "become" truly human, in art, in life, in society:

> What is essential and eternal in man, what makes man human is the subject matter of true and great art. Everlasting works of art are those that depict that which is essentially human, from happiness and sorrow that are to happiness and sorrow that are not, that dwell in human dreams and hopes. That which is specific to a people and a person is irrelevant. And the art that depicts only, or predominantly, that which is specific to a single man, without showing what that particular man has in common with all other men is a miserable art or not art at all.[111]

In his conception, art and culture should always bring the individual into contact with society, or humanity, or even the "wholeness" of everything. This "wholeness" was a notion inspired by the theosophical society, an esoteric order that had gained in popularity in the late 19th

[109] Pero Slijepčević, "Mlada Belgija" *Zora* 2 Nr. 6–7 (1911), 251–80.
[110] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Nacionalno tlo i modernost", *Bosanska vila* XXIII (1908), Nr. 19, 289–290; Nr. 20, 305–307.
[111] Ibidem.

century.[112] Its founder, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, had expressed the idea that "all" is connected, albeit in the spiritual world.[113] Interestingly, Mitrinović's focus on the "wholeness", something he later would call "Pan-Humanity", was in contrast with the by that time in intellectual circle popular Nietzschean notion of the *Übermensch*: an individual that overcomes humanity by constituting himself independently, creating his own values and morals.[114]

Individualism could, however, be molded in a concept where the collective would become part of an individual struggle. In these same years the German critical pedagogue Paul Bergemann wrote about the question of individualism, in relation with society.[115] It is no coincidence that one of his essays was translated and published in *Zora*, because his anti-individualism was aligned with popular ideas in the young Bosnian student networks. This thinking about the "education" of the nation and the great commission to elevate the people from a state of ignorance and oppression was obviously inspired by the social pedagogy of Bergemann, who wrote that the supreme goal of upbringing is not the individual, but the "cultural work of humanity".[116]

Another approach to resolving the question of individualism was to consider the individual and the individual's inner world as a

---

[112] Tim Rudbøg, "Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's Esoteric Tradition" in: Andreas B. Kilcher ed., *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 161-178.

[113] In this pre-war years he did not mention Blavatsky literally, but after the war, in 1921, he explained how she had shaped his very own ideas and views on humanity. He described her as "the first Superman in the vehicle of femininity, the first woman genius." *The New Age* 23 June 1921, cited in: Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics in Britain between the Wars* (London: Tauris, 1999), 107.

[114] Nemanja Radulović, "Slavia Esoterica: Between East and West" *Richerche Slavistiche* 13 (2015): 73-102: 75.

[115] Paul Bergemann, "Socijalna i individualna psiha" *Zora* 2 Nr. 8 (1911), 351. Paul Bergemann, *Soziale Pädagogik auf erfahrungswissenschaftlicher Grundlage und mit Hilfe der induktiven Methode, als universalistische oder Kultur-Pädagogik* (Gera: Theodor Hofmann, 1900), 516. Cited in: Jolana Hroncova, "History and Present Situation of Social Psychology" *New Educational Review* 5 (2005) 27–34:30.

[116] Paul Bergemann, *Die evolutionistische Ethik als Grundlage der wissenschaftlichen Pädagogik* (Wiesbaden: Behrend, 1894), 19; See also: Bernd Dollinger, *Die Pädagogik der sozialen Frage: (sozial-)pädagogische Theorie vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006): 251.

synecdoche of the national community. Individualism was hence placed in a context of constant struggle with oneself, a struggle with weakness and lack of understanding, but also with the lack of social solidarity. By overcoming the struggle with oneself, the national community could grow. Vladimir Gaćinović linked the fate of the nation to that of the individual when he wrote: "The problem of the nation is nowhere more strongly linked to the problem of the personality of a man, a hero, as it is today with us. Also, more than ever the Serbian life requires that man".[117] In *Vihor*, an essay by the famed Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle was published in Serbo-Croat translation.[118] Carlyle wrote several books about the "great man" and argued that such great men were history's guiding lights: their biographies *were* history.

Modernity: Somber souls

Gaćinović's sense of heroism, combined with a new notion of time and speed experienced by the individual, stood in stark contrast to the poetry published in the youth periodicals. The political views of these publications were rather vitalist, but nothing like that could be said about the dark and pessimist poems. Borivoje Jevtić described how he and his peers discussed new revolutionary actions in an attic in Sarajevo, and read out poems by Russian terrorists: "Miloš Vidaković had just returned from Paris and spoke with conviction about the sinful frail women in the Latin Quarter. He was angry about the heavy and serious tone of all our talks. As a twenty-year old, he did not want to think about his own death".[119] Interestingly, when we take a look at Vidaković's poems, we can distinguish a romantic *memento mori* attitude: "Hot hands they shake in vain / nowhere and with nobody / the city is dead / no star and no sky, nor / steps of cheerful passengers / to toll the pavements' stone / complaints sway through the heart / and the great dream of fatigue closes the eyes".[120]

[117] Vladimir Gaćinović, 'Krik očajnika', cited in: Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 74.
[118] Thomas Carlyle, "Radi, ne očajavaj!" *Vihor* 1 (1914), 176–177.
[119] *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, 154.
[120] "Zalud se pruzaju vruče ruke / nigde nikoga / mrtav je grad / nema ni zvezda ni neba, niti / koraci veselih prolaznika / da zazvone kamenim trotoarima / i žalbe njisu kroz srce / i veliki san umora sklapa oči". Miloš Vidaković, "Samoća" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 337–38. Originally published in 1912.

The poetry of Gavrilo Princip and Ivo Andrić, the two most famous "Young Bosnians", has often been described and analyzed.[121] The former wanted to become a poet and approached the latter, asking whether Andrić would be willing to read some of his poems. This, in the end, did not happen, since Princip was too shy and he felt that his poems were not good enough to be read by his enigmatic school-colleague Andrić.[122] Jevđević, a pupil of the sixth grade at the same Sarajevo gymnasium, believed that his classmate and poet Dragutin Mras had read one of Princip's poems, something about unrequited love ("roses, flowering on the seabed"), and had judged it negatively. Yet someone found a text in a guestbook of a mountain hut on the mountain Bjelašnica, signed on June 25, 1911, by Gavrilo Princip, pupil of the 5th class at the Sarajevo Gymnasium. The narrative poem about a walk through the forest shows a romantic orientation, and behind its fierce ideological convictions expresses utter sentimentality. Princip wrote: "I can definitely tell you that I have never seen such a beautiful view. No poet could ever describe it – oh you guys still saw what beautiful and true images the blood-red fire made with the black, hellish darkness, the whispering of the dark conifers and this gloomy night, the guard of hell and his sons, it looked to me like the whisper of magical and wondrous giant and nymphs, as if you were hearing the song of the four Siren virgins, the sad Aeolian Harp or of the divine Orpheus. Everyone fell asleep around the fire, but I could not, I was tired, I dozed, who can fall asleep in this empire of dreams and illusions?[123] Works by the Serb young poet Sima Pandurović were distributed and widely read among Bosnian youth. His poems were somber, and the message was pessimistic and gloomily romantic.[124]

Jovan Skerlić criticized this sort of pessimism; he argued that the youth should deal with more cheerful affairs, and should write poetry about a glorious future. Andrić, who would become famous after

[121] Dragan Hamović, *Spomen Principu: Izbor iz Poezije mladobosanaca i srpske poezije o Gavrilu Principu* (Belgrade: Pečat, 2014).
[122] Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*, 132.
[123] *Srpska Riječ* 17/06/1920, cited in Dedijer, *Sarajevo*: *Volume I*, 241–42. My own translation.
[124] Jovan Kršić, 'Lektira Sarajevskih Atentatora' in: Todor Kruševac and Jovan (eds.), *Pregled* Sarajevo 1935), 115–119.

the First World War (and Second), was aware of his inability to act and personally struggled to find himself in a generation of activists. Here I recall the quote used in part III: "Some live and some die on the sidewalks, expressing our common misfortune. Long live those withdrawn, taciturn in dark rooms, preparing revolt and conspiracies. I'm not like that. But may they live".[125]

Modernity: Raising up the human mass

How did the Bosnian youth find its position between the old and the new age? For answering this question, special attention must be given to Dimitrije Mitrinović's writings for *Bosanska Vila*. The tormented mind of this self-proclaimed guru did not really help his writing skills, but, still, there is much to be found in his opaque essays. Essentially, Mitrinović's contemplations were an important inspiration for many younger Bosnian students. His message included aspects of modernist cultural critique and bore some relation to George Sorel's thoughts on violence, but it also had elements of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, and, it was mentioned earlier, Helena Blavatsky's theosophy. Additionally, one can distinguish the influence of Henri Bergson's conception of time, intuition and the meaning of "experience".

In his "Aesthetic Contemplations", Mitrinović articulated three important "truths" for the reader. One is that to be "absorbed and lost in digression" is proof of "intellectual brilliance".[126] In other words: thinking is not just plain reasoning, but rather concerns living through the unfathomable nature of "the whole". Another truth is that there is not one truth, that "all ends in song save for philosophical problems treated sincerely and many-sidedly, penetrating to the bottom without assumption". The third truth is that thinking alone will not save us, "the dew of thought does not refresh us", because "we are bound eternally to the earth, by the inferior life of practice".[127]

This emphasis on the limits of the rational was inspired by Bergson's philosophy. By this time a tremendously popular French thinker, Bergson explained to his Paris students and other audiences all

[125] Cited in Dedijer, *Sarajevo: Volume I*, 335.
[126] Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplation", 17.
[127] Ibidem, 18.

over Europe how and why there were serious objections against the enlightened mode of reasoning. He often pointed at his main conclusion: time is not linear, and scientific time does not endure.[128] Bergson's notion of duration was based on the assumption that time itself cannot be understood scientifically, though, intuitively, it can be "experienced". Multiple movements of time and space require multiple paces and speeds: two trains running at the same pace next to each other are standing still; man grasps and lives common life in a different tempo than during the turning points of birth, death and disaster. Real time ('*durée réelle*') endures: for most people a trauma takes up more time than a moment of joy. Abstract notions of life can be understood but never experienced. In return, most life experiences cannot be fully put into words, or be articulated via defined philosophical theories. These and other ideas inspired Parisian artists and bohemians, but also bourgeois intellectuals and confused Christians, who needed to find answers to the questions of the new age of industrialization, rationalization, and some of the most drastic implications of scientific research.

It is incorrect to link Bergson to the anti-rational, Romanticist and/or conservative movements of the early twentieth century. But these movements can be linked to many of his followers, who either misinterpreted his teachings or simply ignored their finer nuances. Bergson wanted to show that reality is not simple, and that there are many more perspectives to reality than we ordinarily assume. Some of his followers, however, believed that Bergson had found the answer to the "cold" scientific perspective on Creation, and had reintroduced mysticism and a strong sense of mystery.

The Bergsonian conception of time and space was echoed in the works of Mitrinović, whose contemplations also include echoes of Bergson's vitalism and his "life force". Bergson's *élan vital* was interpreted by many as a belief in energy, in force. Bergson himself believed that this vital force was beyond the power of the logical mind

[128] Stanley Gontarski, Paul Ardoin and Laci Mattison (eds.), *Understanding Bergson, Understanding Modernism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); Elena Fell, *Duration, Temporality, Self Prospects for the Future of Bergsonism*. (Oxford: P. Lang, 2012).

to know it.[129] Therefore, Mitrinović's "force" must be seen in the context of a vaguely Bergsonian concept, rather than as a premise directly taken from the writings of the French thinker. Effectively, Mitrinović was speaking of violent deeds, very similar to what Gavrilo Princip and his comrades would perpetrate in 1914. However, whoever reads carefully can learn that Mitrinović was thinking first and foremost of a moral battle, a conscious merging of theory and practice, words and deeds: "In thought we must descend into life in order that life may be raised to thought; for theory to be applied to practice, so that practice may be spiritualized into theory". Then he linked to this a political message for all fields of intellectual and spiritual life: "Philosophy must be pragmatized, science humanized, and art democratized".[130]

The force of this vanguard of a moral revolution would be "we, of tomorrow". Mitrinović does not refer to any generation, or to youth, but to the people who live in the present, creating the future. "Writers of systems with a theoretical exclusiveness are too much of yesterday and far too little of tomorrow, while our philosophy needs to be a philosophy, though concerning existence as a whole".[131] The groups opposed to this vanguard were, besides the great powers and monarchies, the mass of common people who were living in ignorance. Mitrinović expressed the idea that a small minority of great minds with strong wills could alter society and human consciousness. In these same years, somewhere else in Europe, a very similar idea was put forth by the German philosopher Erich Gutkind, who collaborated with the Dutch utopian writer Frederik van Eeden.[132] Gutkind and Van Eeden

[129] Richard Lehan, "Bergson and the Discourse of the Moderns" in: Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass (eds.), *The Crisis in Modernism: Bergson and the Vitalist Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 306–329:309.
[130] Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplation", 29.
[131] Ibidem, 31.
[132] I wrote about this in "Frederik van Eeden: Utopisch profeet en hervormer" *Historisch Nieuwsblad* (2014/7). See also: Christine Holste, *Der Potsdamer Forte-Kreis:Eine utopische Intellektuellenassoziation zur europäischen Friedensicherung* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001); Idem, *Der Forte-Kreis: Rekonstruktion eines utopischen* Versuch (Stuttgart, M&P, 1992); Jan Fontijn, *Trots Verbrijzeld: Het leven van Frederik van Eeden vanaf 1901* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1996), 246–360; Anna Wołkowicz, *Mystiker der Revolution: Der utopische Diskurs um die Jahrhundertwende* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego,

wrote: "Aristocracy should no longer mean oppression, but a seraphic leading of the way […] [the heroic thinker] knows that he bears what the multitude does not possess, but what it needs. His kingly pride lies in this, that he will not lower himself but will stand fast in order that the human mass may follow him and raise itself up."[133] Very likely, Mitrinović borrowed these ideas from Gutkind, since they were collaborating and meeting regularly in German university towns, in Jena, Munich, and Berlin.[134] Mitrinović believed the future could be "made" by this small group of great minds, linking the two separated worlds of the past and the future. And, indeed, he was one of them: "We are here to fulfill a great work, the work of Synthesis and Aim, to carry it out with all the honor of people tormented and painfully crucified *between two worlds* [my emphasis]. We are here to prepare the most basic material for human culture, the all-human humanity, inherited and vast yet most diverse in the nature and significance of its wealth".[135]

In these days, Mitrinović organized art lectures about Kandinsky's work in Munich, where he guided visitors through the paintings while explaining the art via his own quite peculiar method.[136] He was, after all, one of the many colorful figures of the Munich/Schwabing art-scene – a scene of drug-addled artists, rebels, writers and poets.[137] Though Mitrinović was a legitimate thinker of a

---

2007) 53-126; Fenneken van Doesum, *Koninklijken van Geest: De vriendschap tussen Frederik van Eeden en Erich Gutkind* (Groningen: n.p., 2006).

[133] Frederik van Eeden and Volker, *Welt-Eroberung durch Helden-Liebe* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster and Löeffler, 1911), 14.

[134] Holste, *Der Forte-Kreis*, 114–129; Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative: An Exploration of the Life and Ideas of Dimitrije Mitrinovic* (New York: Boulder, 1984), 33; Predrag Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija Dimitrija Mitrinovića* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2003), 41.

[135] Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplation", 30.

[136] Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative*, 27–33; Holste, *Der Forte Kreis*, 114–119; Shulamith Behr, "Wassily Kandinsky and Dimitrije Mitrinovic; Pan-Christian Universalism and the Yearbook - Towards the Mankind of the Future through Aryan Europe" *Oxford Art Journal* 15, No. 1 (1992), pp. 81-88. The influence of Kandinsky is very visible in his writings, especially with regard to the notion of time and modernity. For comparison, see: Gerald Izenberg, *Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000),163; Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006 [1912]).

[137]Richard Faber, „Der Schwabinger Imperatorenstreit, (k)ein Sturm im Wasserglas. Über die Münchner Bohème im Allgemeinen und die „Kosmische Runde" im

certain sort, he channeled most of the modern ideas coursing through the avant-garde circles of European capitals at the turn of the twentieth century to the young Bosnian students. For example, he emphasized the meaning of instinctive action and glorified the committing of some kind of spiritualized violence - echoing the words of Italian futurists. He believed in the importance of sacrifice and of pride, as he wrote: "We do not give in! Forward beneath the pulverizer! Let us be crushed rather than surrender alive! The intelligent do not surrender, because it is shameful".

Besides the glorification of (metaphorical) violence and the focus on deeds and action, he expressed his belief that "we, of tomorrow" could steer the development of history. This part of his aesthetic contemplations really did strike a nerve with the progressive Bosnian students. Interestingly, Mitrinović made no reference to any real-life political hardships in his "contemplations". Instead, he writes about the elite intellectual minority's task to save not only the Bosnian Serb peoples in the Austro-Hungarian Empire but all of humanity itself. This expanded purview shows an important extension to the social-education ideals of Bergemann, which now were supplemented with a current of messianism circling around Nietzschean terms such as "will", "power" and "struggle." In the last part of this dissertation, I will argue that Mitrinović's belief that the future could be "made" by the vanguard of today ("we, of tomorrow") was shared by the most fanatic students in the networks.

5.5 The Future of Bosnia and Hercegovina

The youth periodicals gave voice to the identity-making of a new generation, but they especially stimulated the shaping of a "didactic

Besonderen" in: Richard Faber and Christine Holste (eds.), *Kreise-Gruppen-Bünde: Zur Soziologie moderner Intellektuellenassoziation* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2000), 37-64; A nice introduction to the Schwabinger Bohème is: Dirk Heisserer, *Wo Die Geister Wandern: Literarische Spaziergänge Durch Schwabing* (Munich: Beck, 2008). Other popular academic reading: Armin Zweite (ed.), *Kandinsky und München: Begegnungen und Wandlungen 1896–1914* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1982). See also: Kieft, *Oorlogsenthousiasme*, 104-121; 305-310.

mission", if not a "moral revolution". And yet, although these publications were full of writing that addressed all kinds of nationalism and how to set about properly "educating the people", they were relatively vague about geopolitical solutions for the Balkans.

There were many future scenarios for the province of Bosnia: making it an extension of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or a part of Yugoslavia, submitting it to trialism, or simply continuing the status quo. As one might expect, there was no consensus among the youth. The cacophonic orchestra of their ideas could not get in tune. Sometimes, several of the above-mentioned solutions were defended in one and the same periodical. *Slovenski Jug* in Belgrade had the clearest vision for Bosnia: it should be integrated into a united South Slav state – one strongly dominated by Serbia. There was little doubt at all about the connection between Bosnia and Serbia, and Bosnian magazines such as the Mostar-based *Zora* and the Sarajevo-based *Bosanska Vila* were incorporated into the canon of the Serbian cultural renaissance.

The Croatian nationalists, for their part, knew what they wanted. They hoped in Bosnia to forge an independent Croatian state, which nevertheless would fall under the governance of the Habsburg crown. *Mlada Hrvatska* would always refer to Bosnia as "our fatherland", just as Sarajevo was "ours". [138] The Young Croats' greatest fear was that the progressive Croats would join the Serbs. When speaking about Bosnia in *Mlada Hrvatska*, usually the discussion concerned the ongoing struggle in the Sarajevo classroom, precisely from where the demonstrations emerged. The Croatian demonstrations in Zagreb and Split had spread to Sarajevo, where Serb and Bosniak students became involved in them. An article in *Mlada Hrvatska* describes the situation as follows: "We think that there is no more delightful place than our Sarajevo, where the ideas of the leaders of our school pupils come most remarkably to the fore. Here we have a quite large numerical society of Progressives, most of the members are Serbian with a minimum number of Croats and Croat-Muslim. So, maximally Serb! Only now we study this Serbian 'progressiveness' in greater detail, it was recently shown in a significant event".[139] A group

[138] For example: "Iz bosanskog 'parlementarizma'" *Mlada Hrvatska* 2 Nr. 2 (1912).
[139] "Sarajevo, o ožujko 1911" *Mlada Hrvatska* 2 Nr. 3–4 (1912), 97.

of Serbian progressives felt offended by the Croatian nationalists and had gone to the teachers to demand explanations. When the Croatian progressive students then sided with the Serb progressives, *Mlada Hrvatska* concluded: "No doubt it would certainly be more honest when, if all you progressives, that is, Serbs, took off the Yugoslav and Serbo-Croat feathers of the cap, at least we can get to know each other!"[140]

The Croatian progressives arose from the Prague groups around *Hrvatska Misao* ("Croatian Thought"), *Hrvatski Đak* ("Croatian Pupil") and *Val*. Earlier, Stjepan Radić had expressed in these periodicals his vision about *narodno jedinstvo* (national unity) and said: "Let Bosnia and Hercegovina be the place, where we will create a first real permanent national unity of the Croatian or Serbian nation, a breeding ground, from which we, Croatians and Serbians as one, will frustrate all our national enemies."[141]

Srpska Omladina's view on Bosnia was that the Bosnian Croats and Muslims would be "nationalized" and that Bosnia's future would be Serbian. This stance was in line with the ideas expressed in the Belgrade daily newspaper *Pijemont*, the organ of the Black Hand that posted, each year after 1908, a large black-rimmed obituary to commemorate the anniversary of the annexation of Bosnia.

The various articles in *Zora* show a paradox. First, Bosnia is seen as an important locus of the great Croat-Serb experiment. Some articles emphasized that Bosnia should be a future battlefield. At the same time Bosnia is also described in more realistic terms, as a country on the periphery, where the culture is suppressed and the mentality is not "healthy". Nikola Stojanović wrote in 1911 in *Zora*:

> Things are difficult for Bosnia. The problem in all Serbian regions is most evidently seen in Bosnia. The oriental morality is not compatible with European views on the cultural, political and economic progress of the nation […] Is it possible to regenerate our perverted conceptions, can we correct our confusion? I truly believe

[140] Ibidem.
[141] Stjepan Radić, "Hrvatski Ideali", *Hrvatska Misao* 1 nr. 1 (1897), 5–9:7.

> that it is possible. In Bosnia there are enough healthy elements, which are only to be found and fixed.[142]

Hope lied, in his view, with the youth: "The young Bosnian generation first has to grow older, so that it, in this perspective, it can go for the better […] I am well informed how many Bosnians […] are rallied around your periodical [*Zora* – GvH]. It would be my pleasure if there would be more, because in this way we could create prospects for success of such an operation in Bosnia".[143]

5.6 Conclusions: A social and cultural mission

The shift from a nationally oriented coalition into one more generationally oriented is reflected and documented in the youth periodicals between 1908 and 1914. For reasons of demarcation I have taken samples from periodicals representing the environments of the university cities I have discussed in chapter 3: Vienna (*Zora*), Prague (*Hrvatska Misao, Hrvatski Đak, Val, Zora*), Belgrade (*Slovenski Jug*), Zagreb (*Mlada Hrvatska*, *Val*, *Vihor*) and, eventually, Sarajevo (*Srpska Omladina*). There is not one single overarching ideology to extract from the articles in these periodicals. However, always present were the articulated feeling of "being young" and the belief that the new generation was the vanguard of cultural change.

This does not mean that this shifting coalition was that simple, or that it developed naturally. There were many disagreements about the individual's role in society, the question of modernity and, above all, the identity of the people on whose behalf the youth claimed to act. This brings me to the most important aspect of the ideology of the youth movements in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War: Nationalism was a driving force, but a force not only to mobilize but especially to *educate the people*. The influence of social pedagogy and

[142] Nikola Stojanović, "Političke Pregled iz Bosne" *Zora* 2 Nr. 4–5 (1911), 216–219:218–19.
[143] Ibidem, 219.

of pedagogues such as Paul Bergemann is visible. The policy toward the upbringing of the young as it had been brought to Bosnia by the Austro-Hungarian colonial regime was slowly transformed and shaped into a new belief about a grand future for the mass of the illiterate, the uneducated, and the not-yet-enlightened peasants of the South Slavic world, which would be spread by the individual representatives of a new generation. Some of the Bosnian-Serb students, like Mitrinović, interpreted this mission in a more cosmic and universal manner.

This progressive-nationalist social pedagogy was not solely the idea of the young generation. Many examples can show the steering hand of older individuals and groups – of, that is, the first generation. First, the influence of the Belgrade-based institutes and periodicals around *Slovenski Jug* – and to a lesser extent *Pijemont* and the Black Hand – was visible in both the content and the production of the youth periodicals, from Vienna to Sarajevo (*Slovenski Jug* was even mentioned in the colophon of the Viennese periodical *Zora* as its Serbian distributor). *Pijemont* expressed quite clearly an ideology that advocated raising a new generation of patriotic Serbs who would one day liberate the masses of Bosnia. *Slovenski Jug* promoted the youth movement from Belgrade, with local financial help and moral support. The most important "fathers" of the progressive youth movement in Belgrade were Jovan Skerlić, the Belgrade University professor, and Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa, the real editor of *Pijemont* and one of the most influential members of the Black Hand. Gaćinović confirmed this in a letter to Trotsky:

> This movement, with all its shades, and the organizing bodies had their homes, too, in Belgrade, the Serbian capital. From there we had impatient blows, inciting our vigorous action. It seems to me that one of the central figures in Belgrade was Ljuba Jovanović, editor in chief of *Pijemont*. […] He was the Mazzini of Young Serbia. Very tall and lanky, with a large forehead, a tireless worker and consequent ascetic, the fanatic-agitator of the young Serbians. […] All leading figures of the Yugoslav youth passed through the modest editor's room of *Pijemont* to be able to see Jovanović and listen to

him. […] The whole of Yugoslav youth knew him by name, in our *kruzoks* legends about him were spreading."[144]

Not only were the Belgrade circles behind the Bosnian and Austrian youth periodicals. Also the leaders of the Bosnian Serb movement, including Gligorije Jeftanović, the owner of Hotel Evropa, supported the periodicals and the movement. *Srpska Omladina* was edited by Đorđe Pejanović, an official of Prosvjeta. The editor's room was in Prosvjeta's building in Sarajevo, and some of its advisors included Petar Kočić and the Bosnian Serb political representatives in the Bosnian Sabor.[145] A third argument is even simpler: many of the writers, politicians, political activists and lobbyists of the first generation also published in the periodicals of the youth which claimed to be the "voice" of a next generation. Rectors, professors, leading intellectuals like Tomáš Masaryk, Jovan Skerlić and Jovan Cvijić: they were all asked to write for the youth periodicals. As sociologist Karl Mannheim wrote: one generation never discovers nor invents a completely new concept without consulting its elders. This dynamic applies to these two Bosnian Serb generations.

The periodicals were perhaps initiated by the first generation, but nevertheless, in the acts of editing and writing, a cultural idiom and a discourse of a second generation was created. Through the interaction of Croat, Serb, Croato-Serb and Serbo-Croat periodicals, a new polyphony of voices was heard in what had mostly been an illiterate society without any serious media outlets. In other words, these periodicals created a "sphere" of interaction and communication that had not existed before. The young were able to make themselves heard by writing articles for the periodicals. Editors and writers constantly referred to articles in other media, and they wrote long reviews about newly founded and older periodicals. This is how coalitions were made. In 1912, after the demonstrations in Zagreb, the Vienna-based *Zora* initiated a fusion with the Prague-based radical progressive periodical

[144] Vladimir Gaćinović, Sarajevski Atentat, in: Lav Trocki, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 12–13.
[145] Letter Milan Stojaković to Borivoje Jevtić, 02/07/1912, in: Bogićević (ed.), Mlada Bosna: *Pisma i Prilozi*, 177–179:178; "Bosna i Hercegovina" *Slovenski Jug* 9 Nr. 34 (1912) 269.

Val.[146] Moreover, the periodicals also enhanced collaboration with likeminded groups of Slovenian students in Ljubljana, who were rallied around the periodical *Preporod*. Several articles in one periodical were re-published in the other, sometimes translated, but much more often just given in the original Latin or Cyrillic script. For example, the Dalmatian progressive periodical *Naprednjak* took over some articles from the Bosnian Serb *Srpska Omladina*. Interestingly, it picked the article "New Generation", written by Borivoje Jevtić.[147] This supports the argument that there was the shift from a vertical (national) to a horizontal (generational) protest movement. The social networks of the Croatian periodicals partly overlapped. Some of the Progressive Croats, such as Tin Ujević and Krešimir Kovačić, were former friends of Antun Gustav Matoš, the ideological frontman of the Young Croats.[148] This was also apparent in the biting fights between the two Croatian currents in *Mlada Hrvatska* and *Val*, respectively. Judging from the tone and content of these articles, one can easily recognize the underlying drone of a personal feud. Hence, Croatian progressives were easily driven into the direction of the progressive Serbs.

We must, however, avoid adopting the historical teleological fallacy that these different coalitions all ended up in the Yugoslav synthesis. Most of the Serbs, Croato-Serbs, Serbo-Croats and Croats, all these "chameleons", had no real idea about what the future would bring. Ideas were not set in stone, and there was no consensus even within one social network that rallied around a certain periodical,. I argue that the common spirit of these periodicals was not Yugoslavism or a shared identity, but rather the social and cultural mission of the promising new generation of youth. Rethinking all the contributions to the periodicals, the only common ground we can distinguish is a vigorous belief in the power of the young in civilizing the poor peasant population of Bosnia. Geopolitical targets and missions, such as a Greater Serbia or South Slavic Empire, were articulated by the newspapers of the "fathers" such as *Srpska Riječ* in Sarajevo, *Narod* in

[146] "Saopštenje" *Zora* 3 Nr. 6–7–8 (1912), 369–370.
[147] Letter Milistisav Bartulica (editor of *Naprednjak* from Šibenik) to Borivoje Jevtić (editor of *Srpska Omladina*), 17/02/1913, in: Bogićević (ed.), *Mlada Bosna: Pisma I prilozi*, 192–193.
[148] Gross, "Studentski Pokret", 469.

Mostar and *Pijemont* and *Slovenski Jug* in Belgrade. The youth periodicals may have been founded to stir up the adolescent zeal of the young, but afterwards they further developed themselves. They did not have a clear vision of the future of Bosnia, nor of the future of the South Slavs, except that Austro-Hungary should be destroyed at all costs. This was their common ground. But, besides that, what was most shared among the social networks of the youth periodicals was the strongly felt need for a civilizing mission directed toward the peasant population. In some cases, as with Mitrinović for example, this didactic task was transformed into a rather morally inflected struggle for the elevation of the human spirit. This way of reasoning did have some influence on the students' writings, transmitting in some way the outlook and ideas of thinkers of the early twentieth century, and of Nietzsche, Bergemann, Sorel and Bergson, even though this was – obviously – poorly digested.

In short, the "second generation" was still guided by the principles of the first generation. However, after they had begun to develop their own ideas in their own periodicals, a shared generational consciousness began to grow. The "second generation" had no clearly developed ideas about the future of Bosnia in a political sense, but its members all shared the strong conviction that this generation had the enormous task of educating its people in national self-consciousness, culture and the fostering of a strong sense of social solidarity

Part VI: The Assassins

"In the society in which we lived there was always talk of assassination. We read the newspapers glorifying the attacks of Žerajić and Jukić. […] We thought that noble people were capable of assassination. But the people we lived among talked about Franz Ferdinand, they regarded him as an enemy of the Slavs. We heard of him that he was an enemy of the Slavs. Nobody told us directly 'kill him!' but in that milieu we came to that idea." – Nedeljko Čabrinović, in court[1]

"Forward on, sons, creators! Build your world anew, more profoundly, more beautifully and more powerfully than did your fathers!" - Dimitrije Mitrinović, Aesthetic Contemplations[2]

Introduction

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand marked the beginning of the First World War, but, in a smaller, more local context, it also marked the end – or the beginning of the end – of the young Bosnian movements. Soon after the assassination the war started, and during the war these movements lost their strength since most of the activists were tried in the notorious Banja Luka trials of 1916.[3] Many did not survive the war.

In 1914, the assault did not come as a surprise; there had been a few attacks in the preceding years, and the Bosnian authorities were foreseeing more to come.[4] The Austro-Hungarian Governor Oskar

[1] Nastavak Glavne Rasprave 23/10/1914 g. u 8 sati prije podne, Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 399.
[2] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplations", 20.
[3] Đorđe Beatović and Dragoljub Milanović, *Veleizdajnički procesi Srbima u Austro-Ugarskoj* (Belgrade: Biblioteka Izbornici, 1989); Milan Vukmanović, *Omladinski Pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini i veleizdajnički proces đacima 1915-1916. godine* (Banjaluka: Institut za Istoriju u Banjaluci, 1987); Stephan L. S. von Sarkotić (ed.), *Der Banjaluka-Prozeß: Deutsche Übersetzung Nach Dem Kroatischen Originaltexte Nachgeprüft Vom Orientalischen Seminar in Berlin* (Berlin: Arbeitsausschuß Deutscher Verbände, 1933); Pero Slijepcevic, *Le Regime Politique d'Autriche Hongrie en Bosnie-Herzégovine et les Procès de Haute Trahison par un group d'Hommes politique yougoslaves* (Anemasse: Imprinterie nouvelle, 1916).
[4] Most of these attacks in the period 1910-1914 I have described in Part III.

Potiorek, for example, realized he was a target himself. On December 12 he wrote in his diary: "Several reports of planned coups and assassinations (also against me…)".[5]

Assassins were by that time active in other parts of the Monarchy, for example in the Polish-Ukrainian province of Galicia, and in the Italian region, where in 1898 the anarchist Luigi Lucheni assassinated Empress *Sisi*.[6] These kind of attacks formed a global threat: assassins were scheming plans in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and elsewhere, in the US and the UK, even in India and Japan.[7] In 1865, across the ocean, actor John Wilkis Booth had murdered US President Abraham Lincoln in a theatre. Similarly theatrical was the (failed) assassination attempt of the Italian revolutionary Felice Orsini on the French Emperor Napoleon III, who was on his way to a performance of Rossini's opera about William Tell (who famously shot the tyrant, and inspired many real-life assassins).[8] After the bloody events of the Paris Commune (1871), a terrorist wave shocked post-conflict France.[9] In 1891 Ravachol (a pseudonym of the Dutch-French anarchist François Koënigstein) threw bombs in a restaurant to avenge his poverty. After his trial other attacks followed. Auguste Vaillant avenged the execution of Ravachol by throwing a bomb in the French parliament. In 1894 Emile Henry, a frustrated son of the liberal aristocracy, avenged Vaillants execution, and detonated a bomb in a crowded Parisian cafe. He explained his motives to the judge like this:

---

[5] Rudolf Jeřábek, *Potiorek: General im Schatten von Sarajevo* (Vienna: Styria, 1991), 72.

[6] About the fanatic nationalist youth in Ukrainian Galicia, see: Robert Seton Watson, *Europe in the Melting Pot* (London: MacMillan, 1919), 373-74. The story of the death of Sisi is great material for operas, musicals and penny novels. One of them is: Maria Matray and Answald Krüger, *Das Attentat: Der Tod der Kaiserin Elisabeth in Genf* (Munich: Ullstein, 1980).

[7] Chaliand en Blin, *History of Terrorism*, 188-89.

[8] In the version of Friedrich Schiller (chapter 8), it goes like: „Nein, eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht, wenn der Gedrückte nirgends Recht kann finden, wenn unerträglich wird die Last […] Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein anderes mehr verfangen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben – Der Güter höchstes dürfen wir verteidigen gegen Gewalt."

[9] George Shaya, "How to Make an Anarchist-Terrorist: an Essay on the Political Imaginary in Fin-de-siècle France" in *Journal of Social History* 44, No. 2 (2010), 521-543; Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

"You will add other names to the bloody list of our dead. You have hanged us in Chicago, decapitated in Germany, strangled in Xerez, shot us in Barcelona, guillotined us in Montbrison and in Paris, but what you can never destroy is anarchy. Its roots are too deep, born in a poisonous society that is falling apart; This is a violent reaction against the established order."[10]

So the violence outrages in Bosnia were no isolated events. Yet it is important to discuss the role of violence in the young Bosnian networks, especially since it is, after all, an indispensable part of their history - not only local history, but - as I have explained above - also global history.

The violent acts of "Young Bosnia" have been covered extensively, but mainly as some historical tale. There are numerous books in which in detail is described who handed the weapons to whom, at what time, where, how, and why.[11] The Bosnian assassination plot is probably one of the most often told stories in modern history. For that reason I do not dwell in the historical detail, but instead, I discuss the social, cultural, and psychological conditions which incited this violence.

The question of political violence, as well as the question of radicalization, is a complicated one. Yet it is widely discussed in diverse academic fields. Many scholars including psychologists, philosophers, neurobiologists, sociologists and political scientists have analyzed the roots of political violence.[12] Moreover, since 9/11, the whole debate about political violence is hidden behind a media-reality in which nuanced academic research is not highly esteemed. And the pile of

---

[10] Cited in: John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club. How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009) 187.

[11] The most recent and accurate account is to be found in chapter one and three of: James Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

[12] Often research is focused on the 'roots' of terrorism, since it gives the impression that terrorism might be possibly countered if sources are known. In 2003 there was a 'Root Causes of Terrorism' conference in Oslo, where all roots of this complicated social phenomenon were articulated. See: John Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 83. A classic work about the motifs and motivations of terrorists is: Peter H. Merkl (ed.), *Political violence and terror: motifs and motivations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

books is growing: every three hours a book is published with the word "terrorism" in it.[13] Probably as a consequence of this, there is no simple definition of political violence nor terrorism.[14] Three sociologists have justly described the academic debate as a "perverse situation where a great number of scholars are studying a phenomenon, the essence of which they have (by now) simply agreed to disagree about."[15] Because of the saturated research area I borrow just some useful insights from the wide range of disciplines and apply them to the only moderately available data about the young Bosnian "terrorists". [16] Again I try to analyze it on the lowest level: the students in their social realm.

The "why-question" can hardly be answered, especially when focusing on individual cases of radicalization, and by using the rational

[13] Margreet Vermeulen, "Het brein van de terrorist" *Volkskrant: Sir Edmund* 23 January 2016, 38-41: 40.

[14] Several attempts to classify and identify terrorism can be found here: Milan Zafirovski and Daniel G. Rodeheaver, *Modernity and Terrorism: From Anti-Modernity to Modern Global Terror* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-100.

[15] D. Brannan, P. Esler and N. Stringberg, "Talking to Terrorists: Towards an independent Analytical Framework for the Study of Violent Substate Activism" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 24 (2001/1), 3-24:11; cited in: Stephen Vertigans, *The Sociology of Terrorism: People, Places and Processes* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 1.

[16] I must address a few words about the use of the word "terrorist". Historically, the young Bosnian radicals referred to themselves as "terrorists", since they were inspired by the Russian originals (see Part IV). Hence there is little reason for concern to use this term. However, the use of the term has changed greatly over the years, and it has grown into a very specific and negative *Schimpfwort*. "Terrorism" is emotionally charged, and the use of the word is dependent on time, place, region and context. In 2014, for the centenary, there have been various debates about Gavrilo Princip being a hero or a terrorist. In this dissertation I do not aim to give a judgment. Terrorism in this story is just a historical term. Nevertheless, it proves impossible to not occasionally refer to contemporary terrorists. Much research has been performed in the past fifteen years, due to the topicality of in the post-9/11 era. Therefore, I cannot avoid using academic tools that do apply to research of contemporary terrorism, while researching the history of early 20th century Bosnia. The question of "old" and "new" terrorism is also discussed in Verhoeven's *Odd Man Karakozov*, and in Peter R. Neumann, *Old & New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). Neumann identified "old" and "new" terrorism in respectively the IRA and Al Qaida. A strongly biased cultural history of terrorism, from ancient history to today is: Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A cultural History of Terrorism* (New York: Harper, 2009).

choice theory (still default in the research of political violence).[17] It is generally accepted that there is no single reason why one person does radicalize and others do not. In the 1960s and early 1970s many claimed that relative deprivation of the poorer classes explained political engagement in social movement and, eventually, political violence.[18] This explanation could, however, not clarify why still most poor people do not choose to engage in a political movement and/or perpetrate political violence.[19]

Who is a terrorist? The only general resemblance of violent political activists or terrorists are that they are young, and predominantly male. But there are middle-class terrorists, educated and non-educated, intellectuals, strong characters, insane people, and what not more.[20] Profiling a terrorist is often pointless.

The "how-question" is also difficult to answer, but it gives room for more interpretation. For example: Political violence is more likely to appear in cities than in villages; and obviously there is a causal link between the availability of weapons and the activities of terrorists.[21] Some social processes can be examined too, for example faction-forming in social movements, and radicalization in small-group dynamics as well as the psychology in interpersonal contacts (duo's, trio's, *small group dynamics*).[22] Hence I stick to the idea to see the young Bosnian radical activists as a social network instead of a well-structured organization. The question is: How did social, psychological and cultural conditions incite violence in the young Bosnian networks?

---

[17] Stuart J. Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence" *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2006), 45-86: 46; Jeffrey Ian Ross, "Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1993), 317-329.
[18] Ted R. Gurr, *Why men rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
[19] Joan Neff Gurney and Kathleen J. Tierney, "Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research" *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1982), 33-47.
[20] Andrew Silke, *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences* (West Sussex, England: Wiley and Sons, 2003), 29.
[21] Ross, "Structural Causes", 321.
[22] More on 'Small group dynamics' and terrorism see: Vertigans, *The Sociology of Terrorism*, 68-110; Jeff Victoroff and Arie W. Kruglanski, (eds.), *Psychology of terrorism: Classic and contemporary insights* (New York: Psychology Press, 2009); Horgan, *Psychology of Terrorism*, 80-106.

Because of this tripartite question I divided the part in three chapters. In the first chapter I discuss the social context: how do social dispositions influence the radicalization of individuals? And, in response, how is the interaction between the social environment and the radicalized individual? This question is partly answered in Part III, in which I focused on the coalition making processes in Central Europe, and the triggers of radicalization after the Pjanić-trials of 1912/1913. In Part III I concluded that the radicalization process of a few young Bosnians lies in the encounters with massive violence in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. For this Part I use the notion of an "extremely violent society" – a term coined by contemporary historian Christian Gerlach.[23] Although he focuses on Nazi-terror and Soviet violence – historical phenomena very much unrelated to the issues discussed in this dissertation - he nevertheless also discusses the last days of the Ottoman Empire. What I find useful in Gerlach's notion of an "extremely violent society" is that it shifts the attention from the *state* to the *society*, and focuses on the multi-causality of violence, and how it depends on "broad and diverse support, which is based on a variety of motives and agendas that cause violence to spread in different directions in varying intensities and forms."[24] Violence, in this sense, is seen as something more than just the use of brutal force in certain situations.

In the second chapter I describe personal interactions. I analyze the roles of individuals and their personalities. It is about the influence of personal biographical details, and psychological processes such as friendships, personal frustrations, and the finding of the "self".[25] In this chapter I use examples from the life-stories of Vladimir Gaćinović, Danilo Ilić, Gavrilo Princip and Nedeljko Čabrinović. The decision making function of the social network is analyzed.

In the last chapter I discuss the culture of violence. I have put this aspect deliberately at the end: Almost all books about Mlada Bosna

[23] Christian Gerlach, "Extremely violent societies: an alternative to the concept of genocide" *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006/4), 455-471.
[24] Ibidem, 460.
[25] The finding of the self, as well as the identity-crisis of youth are described in the classic study of Erik H. Erikson: *Identity, Youth, and Crisis* (New York: Norton and Co., 1968).

begin with a long chapter on the myth of Kosovo, the "warrior culture" of the Balkans and the intergenerational transfer of violence.[26] This aspect is certainly important, but the culture is rather an interpretation of violence, and not the root and cause of it. The young Bosnian assassins were modern individuals, making their own individual choices. This is in contrast to the existing image of them being little cogs in the dialectic historical machine of forceful Serbian nationalism.

6.1: Violent social contexts

First I must underline two basic remarks about political violence. One: there is more than meets the eye. Slavoj Žižek wrote that the unifying thesis that runs through all studies on violence is that they mainly focus on civil unrest, crime, terrorism and the like. In other words, when we think of violence we think of violence leading to an identifiable perpetrator. This "subjective" violence is, however, just on the surface of society in which do exist two forms of "objective" violence, being structural/systematical violence, and symbolic violence.[27] My second comment is that researchers of political violence often overlook the simple truth that the state is doubtless the most violent actor. Apart from total anarchies, the state has the monopoly of (political) violence. It is an obvious truth, but it must be stressed, before one speaks about substate violence, rebelliousness, or terrorism.

Symbolic violence and the triggers of radicalization

Žižek's dichotomy between objective and subjective violence proves helpful in identifying the violent societies. There are two societies to

[26] See, for example: Würthle, *Die Spur führt nach Belgrad,* 19-28. Analogies of violence in the Balkans are discussed in: Eugene Michail, "Western Attitudes to War in the Balkans and the Shifting Meanings of Violence 1912-91", *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 (2012/2), 219-239.

[27] Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (New York: Picador, 2008), 2-3. The term "structural violence" was first used by Johan Galtung in: "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" *Journal of Peace Research,* Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), 167-191. Pierre Bourdieu was the first to coin "symbolic violence" in his: *La domination masculine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998).

discuss: the Austro-Hungarian and Serbian. Were these extremely violent societies?

The immediate answer would be no. The Austro-Hungarian society, a pillarized society of several religious communities held under the foreign rule might not have been in a continuously evolving state of fear. Bosnia was not at war and not in chaos. However, especially during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, this part of the Empire rapidly turned into a police-state, a restrictive regime of an external occupant in an area with an inherently resistant population.[28] There was symbolic violence in Bosnia. During the last years of Kallay's rule before his death in 1903 the sanctions against Bosnian Serb activism were liberalized, but this was changed in the decade after. The authorities had a growing fear the Orthodox community would (want to) join neighboring Serbia. In order to prevent this, there was a clear-defined policy to discourage the Bosnian Serbs from expressing their national identity. Serbs had to present themselves as "orthodox Bosnians", not as Serbs. This in itself is not necessarily a reason to feel discriminated, although the policy in essence had a discriminatory character. But during the last years of the Austro-Hungarian period the measures to keep Serbian nationalism at bay were rather draconian: there was increased censorship, leading figures were arrested, and the local gymnasium students – supposedly the most dangerous segment of the community - were investigated.

Radicalization experts often give special attention to the turning point, the "trigger" or "cataclyst": when the structural violence is made concrete in an event, and hence can be internalized by people who suffer from these symbolic or structural violence.[29] The emergency measures of the Bosnian governor Potiorek in 1913 were a major trigger for Danilo Ilić and Vladimir Gaćinović to turn violent. In hindsight of the Serbian victories in the Balkan Wars governor Potiorek took "exceptional measures" against the Serb organizations in Bosnia. In his opinion, the overly enthusiastic reactions in the Serbian community about the victories in Kosovo and Macedonia undermined the Austrian

[28] Bojan Aleksov uses the same argument in "Forgotten Yugoslavism and anti-clericalism of Young Bosnians", *Prilozi | Contributions* 43 (2014), 79-87.
[29] John Horgan, *Psychology of Terrorism*, 87; Vertigans, *Sociology of Terrorism*, 74.

rule. On May 3, he issued a ban on all Serbian cultural, political, religious and social associations and initiatives.[30]

Another trigger, perhaps a more convincing one, formed the violently suppressed Sarajevo student demonstrations of 1912 (see Part III). This was, after the strikes of 1906, the first major extra-parliamentary meeting in Sarajevo. This demonstration "triggered" some young Bosnian students: both the demonstrations and the counteractive measures taken by the government offered great food for (students') imagination. This Austro-Hungarian top-down acts of violence against the demonstrating students were an important turning point in the radicalization of some.[31] The symbolic violence of discrimination, shattered national pride, and the colonial patronizing discourse was now transformed into very subjective violence: police brutality. Bosnian young radicals had seen their grievances evidenced in the behavior of the hegemony. Additionally, some students had died as martyrs: Šahinagović, the unfortunate student, and the arrested students in prison too, they became heroes. After the demonstrations and the repression the structural violence took shape in a clear, and convincing narrative, including heroes, martyrs, and a violent, and yet visible enemy.

Serbia: the military networks

For understanding the relation between the Balkan Wars and the radicalization of the student movement, we need to turn to the society of Serbia. Especially after the February demonstrations in Sarajevo predominantly Bosnian Serb students left for Belgrade to continue their studies at the high school of Serbia. The Serbian society, bordering the Austro-Hungarian Bosnian society, was becoming increasingly chaotic - and violent - towards the outbreak of the First World War. It is, therefore, important to look at the social milieu of the Serbian capital city.

Belgrade was different from Sarajevo, and had quite a different cultural environment compared to the university metropoles of Vienna

[30]'O društvima i o pravu skupljana' *Sarajevski List* 3/5/1913.
[31] This is discussed in: Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995).

and Prague. The social structure of the city was also very different: once before, Belgrade had a similarly heterogeneous society as Sarajevo, but after the great exodus of the Turks in 1867 only Serbs and a couple of Jews and Germans had stayed.[32] Belgrade was, in contrast to the colonial town of Sarajevo, a self-confident capital of an independent state. Though still very rural in character, the city was vibrant, lively and cultural, and had potential for rapid growth. Unlike Sarajevo, Belgrade had no (Turkish) *Čaršija* anymore. Serbian plan-makers were convinced that the narrow and claustrophobic alleys of the Čaršija needed to make place for boulevards, squares and modern buildings.[33] Belgrade, therefore, had the ambition to become a Balkan metropole. This was quite appealing to the young Bosnian peripheral boys. In a letter to their friends at home in Sarajevo, the future assassins Trifko Grabež and Gavrilo Princip wrote: "Greetings from Belgrade. The city is even nicer than we ever have imagined!"[34]

Belgrade had some interesting social urban characteristics. First of all, Belgrade was a city for men. In 1914, 58 % of the population was male.[35] The number of one-person households was six time higher than in the rest of the country. Most of the inhabitants of Belgrade were like guest workers, sending the money earned to their families in the countryside. Besides that, there were a large number of soldiers in Belgrade, preparing themselves for the war against the Ottoman Empire, which would break out towards the end of the year. This 'war-like' atmosphere made the city of Belgrade a latent dangerous place. Leon Trotsky was around in Belgrade during the Balkan Wars and wrote some observations about the city:

> […] the city has a special air about it- on the alert, like a military camp. Everyone and everything is subordinated to the demands of

[32] Srebrica Knezević, 'Etnički odnosi i etnografske karakteristike u Beogradu 1867-1914. godine' in: Vasa Čubrilović (ed), *Istorija Beograda* II (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 534-547.
[33] Branko Maksimović, 'Rekonstrukcija i proširenje grada od 1867 do 1914. godine' In: Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda Knj. II* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 307.
[34] Arhiv BiH, ZOP. 36.911.
[35] Nataša Mišković, *Basare und Boulevards. Belgrad im 19. Jahrhundert.* (Vienna: Möhlau 2009), 290; 'Kretanja broja stanovnika, domova, domaćinstava i porodica', in: Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda* II. (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 271.

> the mobilization. Motorcars and cabs drive about almost exclusively on official business. The streets are full of mobilized men and men about to be mobilized. The shops are empty: there are no customers, and the number of clerks has been reduced to the minimum. Industry is at a standstill, apart from the branch that serves the needs of mobilization and the coming war. There is no labor to be had. A sugar factory in Belgrade has had to recruit twenty workers from abroad in order not to have to cease production altogether, while another sugar factory, at Cuprija, has been given permission by the government to employ prisoners.[36]

Trotsky concluded that Serbia was going to suffer from this war-like atmosphere, and - of course - of the coming war:

> Serbia has a little under three million inhabitants. Under arms, according to the latest information, there are altogether, including the home guard, 300.000 men. This is one-fifth of the entire male population of the country, including decrepit old men and baby boys. The concentrated labor power of Serbia has been torn from the body of the country's economy for an indefinite period. Even if we assume that the bloody cup of war will pass Serbia by - and there is no hope of this happening - the mobilization will for a number of years weaken the foundations of the life of this young country which is in such need of peace, labor, and civilization.[37]

If we consider the position of the young Bosnians in Belgrade – persons like Gavrilo Princip and Trifko Grabež – we can rely on some *couleur locale* provided in the memoirs. According to former roommates, Gavrilo Princip and the other (future) assassins lived in an area close to the train station, where they shared rooms with other Bosnian-Serbs. This part of town, circled around today's *Gavrilo Princip Street* and the *Zeleni Venac* (Green Wreath) marketplace, was like a 'Little Bosnia'. Only poor, young Bosnian migrants – students and soldiers – lived there

[36] Leon Trotsky, *The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky: The Balkan Wars 1912-13* (New York: Monad Press, 1980), 62.
[37] Ibidem, 63-64.

and had little or no contact with their Serbian neighbors. This part of town was notorious for its dirt, criminal activities and unhealthy living standards. Tuberculosis, the disease of the 19th and early 20th century, took its toll in these slum-like areas. In Belgrade 50 % of the population died of this disease, but in the milieu of students from the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman areas, Bosnia, Old-Serbia, Macedonia, etc.), this percentage was much higher. Local authorities failed to comprehend and manage this, and, according to historian Dubravka Stojanović, this was merely a result of the poorly developed civil society of the young Serbian state.[38] In the trial records Princip and all his accomplices confirmed that they lived in Belgrade in a 'Bosnian enclave' and felt hardly or not at all accepted in society.[39] This complicated 'in-between-identity' must have played a role in the radicalization of the young assassins, including Princip. In fact, in Bosnia they were seen as Serbs and in Serbia they were seen as Bosnians.

This Belgrade, this city of soldiers, was not mild to the young Bosnian students. It would however be an exaggeration to characterize this society as "extremely violent", though, if we can believe Trotsky, it had the potential to become one: "The whole country has been put on a war footing. Belgrade has been transformed into an armed camp, the country's economic life is at a standstill […] everything has been shaken and upset out of the normal routine, as though somebody had thrust a gigantic spade under the very roots of the nation's life…"[40]

It is tempting to clarify radicalization of individual young Bosnians by pointing at the relative deprivation in Austro-Hungarian Bosnian, as well as in Serbia. But economic circumstances do not necessarily lead to political violence, although they may be part of the

[38] Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914* (Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008). The observations on Serbian civil society around 1900 are discussed in her other books: Dubravka Stojanović, *Srbija i Demokratija 1903-1914* (Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2003); Idem, *Iza Zavese: Ogledi iz društvene Istorije Srbije 1890-1914* (Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2013).
[39] Saslušanje Nedjeljka Čabrinovića 12/10/1914 in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 38.
[40] Trotsky, *Balkan Wars*, 64.

problem.[41] Another part of the cause, the problematic state in which individuals choose the path of violence, is the encounter with violence itself. Violence, very often, begets violence.

Becoming brutalized: the Balkan Wars

Everything turned upside down when in October 1912 the Serbs, together with the Greeks, Bulgarians and Montenegrins, declared war on the Ottomans.[42] This war was for many Balkan nations inspired by the liberation and unification wars that Italy and Germany had fought before. It was the ultimate moment for the (re-)unification of a Greater Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece or even Montenegro. This also explains why the First Balkan War of 1912 soon transformed into a Second Balkan War (1913) where the former allies waged war on each other because of overlapping territorial aims.[43] Especially the region of Macedonia was contested, since Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greeks wanted to have a share of it, if not all. The violence at the fronts on the Macedonia soil was expressively brutal, and also the non-combatant population suffered dramatically. Massacres and other atrocities on both sides would later become a concern for the international community, who increasingly came to realize this war would, or could, be foreboding something similarly terrible, but on a bigger scale.

In his memoirs, Trotsky writes about rumors of cruelties he heard from his Serbian friends. One of his articles is about a (Serbian) civilian travelling through the war area in Macedonia. Already on his way down south, he gets warned by officers and military personnel that he should not go there, and that in fact the Serbian government should prevent civilians (or journalists!) to go to the frontline, because they could come across some ghastly scenes: "At Vranje, on the old Serbian

[41] This is explained, though in a contemporary context, in: Alan Krueger, *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007), 11-52.

[42] Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications* (Salt Lake City: Utah UP, 2013); Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2002) 9-13. An accurate analysis of the Ottoman side of the Balkan Wars is: Edward Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans 1912-1913* (London: Praeger, 2003).

[43] Savo Skoko, *Drugi Balkanski Rat* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1968).

frontier, having realized that I was not going to alter my intention, he changed his tone, and started, in a roundabout way, to prepare me for the impressions I would receive when I reached Skopje: 'These are all very unpleasant things, but, unfortunately, they are inevitable.'"[44]

This same man then, after he had crossed the Serbian-Macedonia border, witnessed horrendous scenes of burning Albanian villages, of "dwellings, possessions accumulated by fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, [which] were going up in flames." On arrival in Skopje, at the train station, he witnesses how two young Albanian men are humiliated and then killed by a number of drunken Serbian irregulars. This Serbian friend of Trotsky (he does not mention a name) gives an interesting conclusion about his visit to the war zone: "People themselves don't realize what a tremendous inner transformation a few days of war have brought about. One can see the extent to which man is dependent on conditions. In the circumstances of the organized brutality of war, men quickly become brutalized without realizing it."[45]

When he talks with some officers who just had been killing hundreds of Albanians in the villages, he asks if he does not feel any remorse for the victims, if he does not feel a "bandit, who kills and robs without discrimination". The officer answers that he has certain limits, and that the army does not kill any person younger than 12 years. However, as he continues, he cannot vouch for the *komitadji*: "they're a different matter."[46]

These notes, as dictated to Trotsky by an anonymous Serbian journalist, cannot be considered a reliable source of what happened in the war zone of Macedonia. But, however, very similar rumors of atrocities could be read and heard all over Europe, and, thus, reached the great powers. In order to clarify the vague circumstances under which the Albanian population of Macedonia had suffered, an investigation was started under the guidance of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace in The Hague. The report was published in 1914 and included factual data on the violations of the laws of war in the First

[44]Trotsky, *Balkan Wars*, 267.
[45] Ibidem, 269.
[46] Ibidem, 271.

and the Second Balkan War.[47] The report forms a good outline of the war crimes, not only of the armies, but also perpetrated by a great variety of armed gangs. It concluded that there were many more actors than just the five armies of the belligerent countries (Ottoman Empire, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece) involved in the war: bands, gangs, clans and irregular forces of different ethnic origin plundered and ravaged the country, raped women and murdered children. The Bulgarian komitet, and the Serbian chetniks, the Albanian clans and the Greek gangs, the Ottoman irregular troops and the former *bashi-bozouks*: they all fought against all in a very complicated war, which could, on one hand, be seen as a grand "War of Liberation", but, on the other hand, as a chaos of bloodshed, on all sides.[48]

Serbia, the independent kingdom, cannot be seen as an example of an "extremely violent society", and in Belgrade they did not turn violent, not even temporarily, but the southern parts of the country and the warzone of Macedonia and other Ottoman provinces definitely were. In this environment, violence was omnipresent, and soldiers turned terrorists rather easily. What Gerlach has explained in his article is that "extremely violent societies" are not just simple labels for a "vaguely defined high level, or a general culture, of violence."[49] But what is much more important is that in "extremely violent societies" all kind of conflicts in class, ethnicity, religion, or local affairs are addressed *with violence*. In other words, the reasons for perpetrating violence are changing constantly over time. At the southern front line of Serbia and Macedonia, the original military conflict was turned into an ethnic, partly religious conflict of (Christian) Serbs against (Muslim) Albanians and Turks. This, however, was also related to social conflicts, whereas the Turks in Macedonia were land-owning class, while Christians for a large percentage were in the peasant class.

[47] *Report of the international commission to inquire into the causes and conduct of the Balkan wars* (Washington, D.C. : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914).
[48] John Paul Newman, "Serbian Integral Nationalism, its Opponents and Mass Violence in the Balkans 1903-1945" *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 124 (2011), 449-463:451-52.
[49]Gerlach, "Extremely Violent Societies", 460.

Eventually, also family-feuds, clan animosities, and vendettas were solved in the Balkan wars.[50]

Propaganda and recruitment

Up to this day it is not clear what was the role and function of the Serbian government in steering and monitoring the violence perpetrated by Serbian gangs in Macedonia. The official and alleged neutral investigation of the Carnegie Endowment was not supported by the Serbian government and they did not want to participate voluntarily in the research.[51] The Serbian prime-minister Nikola Pašić considered the rumors of Serbian war crimes as propaganda lies of enemy's intelligence services. However, there was quite some evidence that some of the highest officers of the army were involved in the komitadji gangs in Macedonia, especially since they were still an official part of the army (originally, they were considered some kind of "commando-unit" of the Serbian army; an elite-corps of the best-skilled soldiers). Some of the notorious army officers in the entourage of Apis, such as Voja Tankosić, were among the leaders of the South-Serbian komitadji. These entanglements could bring the Serbian government in real diplomatic problems. It was far from *chic* that politicians and well-respected officers organized poetry- and literary evenings in Belgrade kafana's, while, at the same time, they financed the irregular gangs of Macedonia to plunder Albanian villages. In fact, the Serbian government had, because of their long-lasting investments in the komitadji, created a monster that could not be tamed anymore. The Carnegie report stated: "It was of distinct advantage for the regular government to have under its hand an irresponsible power which, like

[50] See: Uğur Ümit Üngör, "Mass Violence against Civilians during the Balkan Wars" in: Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose (eds.), *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 76-91:77. The chaos, turbulence, anarchy and multi-layered, also social and intercultural violence during the Balkan Wars is described in the novel *Viti i Mbrapshtë* by the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare. German translation: *Das Verflixte Jahr* (Zürich: Ammann, 2005); Dutch translation: *Het Donkere Jaar* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 2002).
[51] 'De enquête naar de wreedheden' *Algemeen Handelsblad* 26/08/1913.

this, soon became all powerful, and which could always be disowned if necessary."[52]

Many young Bosnians, as well as young Serbs and even Croats, volunteered for the komitadji. Among them were some of those involved in the conspiracy against Franz Ferdinand. Belgrade's *Narodna Odbrana* called out for the students in the capital to volunteer, and they even recruited young boys themselves.

Why did they volunteer? Here we must go back to the situation of many young Bosnians in Belgrade. The miserable living conditions and the humiliating in-between identity of the Bosnian-Serbs in the Serbian capital might have played a role. Their lack of self-esteem and social isolation could be compensated with a role in the army. But there is reason to believe that "narcissistic disappointment" was at hand too.[53] As a solution to their problems, the nameless teenagers wanted to "incorporate" the structural violence of the Austro-Hungarian occupation and their social alienation in Belgrade by bringing this violence on the surface. A war was the perfect theatre for doing that. The great advancements of the Serbian army in the Balkan Wars led to inflammatory articles in the Serbian, but also the Bosnian-Serb newspapers. Not only the obvious nationalist papers, such as Kočić's *Otadžbina*, but also more moderate newspapers turned increasingly friendly to the Serbian army, and, consequently, hostile to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[54] The reprinting of Serbian (and, to a lesser extent Montenegrin) articles in the Bosnian-Serbian Press brought much enthusiasm for the Balkan Wars, and, for participating in it.

Cultural reflexes

Once again: these wars were complicated and multifaceted events. The military conflict over the borders of Macedonia and the Ottoman

[52] *Report of the international commission to inquire into the causes and conduct of the Balkan wars*, 169.
[53] Narcissistic disappointment in a more general context is explained in: Horgan, *Psychology of Terrorism*, 59.
[54] Amir Duranović, "Bosnian and Hercegovinian Serb Aggressiveness in Public Discourse during the Balkan Wars"in: Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (eds.) *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*. (Salt Lake City: Utah UP, 2013), 371-398:383.

Empire soon turned into a combination of ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, and, subsequently, social conflicts. Many volunteers, as well as army officers, had their own reasons to be there: nationalism, but also cruelty, or misguided longing for heroism. The atrocities on both sides of the warring parties mainly concerned the local peasant populations: villages were plundered and burned down to ashes.

These events in southern Serbia were glorified and told in epic war stories in the Serbian press media. And, in turn, this glorification led to agitation in Bosnia.[55] The fanatical behavior of some Bosnians students in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War was incited by frustration over relative poverty, their counter-hegemonic (just?) fight for freedom or to the political mind-set of the young, but in any case they were caught by the germ of violence itself. It is, to put it bluntly, similar to dogs that have once tasted blood: they will bite again. And since the violence of the Balkan Wars were transposed into successful propaganda, it seemed very logical to take up arms for the ultimate fight against the foreign usurpers.

In *Terrorism Studies*, the so-called Terror Management Theory (TMT), based on psychological paradigms, has convincingly shown that mortality salience creates two reflexes: striving for self-esteem, and affirming cultural world-views.[56] Those young students who became soldiers in the war, had to cope with their anxiety, and one of the most popular solutions is to intensify the pursuit of self-esteem, be it in a fight, or in reckless behavior. The other reaction to a raised awareness of mortality is to cling to cultural anchorage, such as the state, the "strong leader", his world-views, and the dominant religion. Psychologists have concluded that men, in face of death, respond by "bolstering self-esteem and validating cultural values."[57]

The influence of the Balkan Wars was - at least - two-fold: first, it created an exciting atmosphere of violence, in which students could go to the war to volunteer, and get face-to-face with violence, rape, and all faces of death. This shifted their attention from poetry and education

[55] Ibidem.
[56] Armand Chatard et. al., "Terror Management in times of war: Mortality salience effects on self-esteem and governmental and army support" *Journal of Peace Reseach* 48 Nr. 2 (2011), 225-234: 226.
[57] Ibidem, 227.

to more warrior-styled themes such as pride, honor, and sacrifice. Meanwhile, at home in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, the local power-holders got increasingly anxious about the possible return of the war volunteers, and the "terrorist threat". Particularly in Bosnia the local government responded with stricter measures on cultural and political activities of, predominantly, the Bosnian-Serbs. This growing awareness of threat, targeted at young people presumably aiming at the turnover of the vulnerable Bosnian society, inspired both power-holders and would-be rebels to become more violent. In other words: the fear turned into reality as a consequence of both policy and press media imagery. The other consequence of the Balkan Wars and the "extremely violent society" it created was a higher mortality salience of the young Bosnian volunteers, which, in turn, led to a stronger notion of the self, and of the culture they wanted to die for.

Conclusions: young Bosnians in a violent context

From Trotsky's Serbian observations and the memoirs of young Bosnians in Belgrade we can conclude that there were aspects of objective violence present in Serbia. The Bosnian Serb schoolchildren were actually disadvantaged residents of poor neighborhoods, not taken seriously by their Serbian Serbs fellow students. This disadvantaged position is rarely discussed in other books about Young Bosnia. Nevertheless, it is an important aspect. The fact that most of the assassins of Franz Ferdinand were marginalized figures who lost faith while living in the Serbian capital Belgrade, definitely shows another light on the well-known historical tale of the Sarajevo plot.[58]

But even more than the pitiful state of the young Bosnians in Belgrade, it was the situation in southern Serbia, Macedonia and

[58] Today, observers consider a link between isolated immigrant communities and radicalized youth. Not everything is to compare with Bosnia and Belgrade in 1900, but it is an interesting thought-experiment to consider Princip and his associates as distant forerunners of the failed migrant in today's urban margins. Doug Saunders wrote in his book about migration: "Gavrilo Princip was giving violent expression not only to the tortured politics of central Europe but also to the dismal failure of many European governments to comprehend or manage the expansive new communities of former villagers forming within their cities". Doug Saunders, *Arrival City: How the largest Migration in History is reshaping our World* (London: Windmill, paperback edition, 2011), 159.

Bulgaria that can be designated as a "violent context" in which terror became normalized. Special attention must be given to the educating role of the komitet, affiliated with the Black Hand in Belgrade. As described in Part III, the Black Hand extolled violence as the sole method of political strife in order to realize the ideals (a Great Serbian Empire). These ideas were put into practice during the Balkan wars, since many Black Hand members joined the komitet. The Bosnian-Serb students who joined the komitet got imbued with the idea that violence is not a problem. In this "extremely violent society" aggressive behavior became normative. The aggressive discourse of the Black Hand, and the normative acts of violence committed komitadji were necessary component for an explosive mix in the minds of already fanatic boys.

The structural violence was "internalized" after the implementation of the emergency measures of 1912 and 1913. The elusive objective violence was then transformed into recognizable subjective violence. The "cataclyst" of the radicalization were the demonstrations of 1912, and how they were put down by the authorities. But more than that, it was obviously the Balkan War that offered opportunities to fight, to put words into action, and to arrive in a social network where violence had become normal. The extremely violent society of the chaotic southern part of Serbia also formed a space in which violence appeared in all ways and in all different shapes, and could be executed by many driven impulses. Eventually, the ideology of violence propagated by the komitadji offered narrative and imaginative frameworks for "experiencing" the violence. These are the social contexts of the young Bosnians' pathways to violence.

6.2: A role playing game - Individual motives.

As mentioned earlier in this part, it proves impossible to give a general explanation for the violent behavior of individual terrorists. Nevertheless, it is possible to analyze individual cases, and give specific conclusions. In this chapter, I discuss the social interactions between a number of individuals to explain personal aspects of radicalization:

recruitment, friendship, and individual psychological motives. For this chapter I make use of Symbolic Interactionism – a perspective I borrowed from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology.[59]

Recruiter: Vladimir Gaćinović

Social Movement scholars, like Diani and McAdam, have convincingly shown that high-risk activism is based on pre-existing or at closely-tied friendship networks. This means that "having a close friend engage in some behavior is likely to have more of an effect or someone than if a friend of a friend engages in that same behavior."[60] In this context this means that, one way or the other, most assassins, or terrorists, are recruited. But here must be added that recruiters, the 'socialization agents', rarely start out as recruiters, and they are usually charismatic people in an already existing network, who use their already existing position of born leaders. Crossley puts it like this: "Activism has its treasured forms of […] high-status stars."[61]

Vladimir Gaćinović was the recruiter, the socialization agent. As described in Part IV, Gaćinović was "converted" to violence during his first stay at the University of Geneva. When he returned to Belgrade in 1911 he had changed into a different person. The assassinations he had read about in the left-wing press were, he thought, the expression of an ideal, an attempt to break the existing world order and to unleash the revolution. This particular terrorism, the "propaganda of the deed", was in practice nothing more than just shooting and throwing bombs. This is possibly the reason why Gaćinović made the mistake to join the Black Hand in Belgrade. The members of the Black Hand were initially skeptical that Gaćinović also signed up for the secret society. Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa would have welcomed him with these words: "You are a Bakunist, our ideas complement each other. But once you begin facing

[59] The most recent handbook about this perspective is: Jason Powell, *Symbolic Interactionism* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2013); See also: Nancy Herman-Kinney and Larry Reynolds (eds.), *Handbook of Symbolic Interactionism* (New York: Alta Mira 2003).
[60] Doug McAdam, "Recruitment to High-risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer". *American Journal of Sociology* 92.1 (1986): 64–90; Vertigans, *Sociology of Terrorism*, 61.
[61] Crossley, "From Reproduction to Transformation", 61.

reality, you will agree that we must invest mainly in the national association." [62] Because the Black Hand had Greater Serbian (or, according to Čupa, Yugoslav) aspirations, they stationed correspondents or coordinators anywhere in the outer regions of the Balkans. There were members of the Black Hand in Macedonia, like Voja Tankosić, but also in the Hungarian regions, and in Montenegro. Gaćinović was asked to focus on the founding of underground cells in his homeland Bosnia and Herzegovina. In these months he wrote *Death of a hero*, the pamphlet glorifying the assassin Bogdan Žerajić. In this pamphlet he mixed Serb nationalism with its own ideas on terror. The death of Žerajić was the appropriate occasion and was the best example of what Bosnian youths could expect. The pamphlet even had a promotional function, as it concluded with a rhetorical question: "Young Serbs, will you produce more of these men?". This pamphlet left many young Bosnians in awe for the brave martyr Žerajić.

He invested much energy and time in the Black Hand's mission. He traveled to Sarajevo and Herzegovina to establish small organizations and activist circles (*kruzhoks*) there. Little is known about his wanderings during this period. The confiscated postcards, which are kept the archives of Sarajevo, all have stamps on it from Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Italy and Montenegro. Borivoje Jevtić described how Gaćinović one day turned up in his tiny student room in Belgrade: "…as usual he suddenly was there, as if he fell from the sky. (...) He talked about what work we needed to do. He thought we should work faster. He expected that when we would return (in Sarajevo - GvH) we could be going to work on something. In Bosnia, bloody dough should be baked. The more chaos, the better."[63] Where Gaćinović lived, and where he resided, it was not clear to Jevtić: "He had his reasons to be afraid … He spent fifteen days in my apartment without registering at the authorities. It was unknown to me where he came from and where he was heading. His activities were kept secret for us, his family. He only went out alone at night. Constantly he

[62] Gaćinović, *Ogledi i Pisma*, 86-87; Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 37-8.
[63] Borivoje Jevtić, 'Vladimir Gaćinović u Sarajevu' in: *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, 104.

received visitors. They were especially dubious figures, just as he was himself."

These anecdotes do give the impression that Gaćinović worked as a recruiter. In another memoir, Jevtić writes how the recruiter had an impact on the younger participants: "Just before Gaćinović would return to Belgrade, two immature boys joined this [secret - GvH] group, they actually were children: Gavrilo Princip and Dragutin Mras. They sat on the side and kept silent all the time. They saw some kind of deity in Gaćinović."

The socialization agent, therefore, is essential as a recruiter. He, Gaćinović, was at first inspired by primarily his own networks of Russian Social Revolutionaries (see Part IV). As a recruiter, he could subsequently work for the people he knew from Belgrade. With his charisma, based partly on his copying of treats of character of Russian novels, he enchanted the younger Bosnians who had not seen anything of the world, but felt deep sympathy for his ideals. Gaćinović was definitely not the guide and supervisor of the terrorist wave of the young Bosnians, but in the social context I have described in the previous chapter, he was the right person in the right place on the right time.

Mentor: Danilo Ilić

In Sarajevo, Vladimir Gaćinović could rely on his friend Danilo Ilić. In turn, Danilo Ilić was the main support for his younger pal Gavrilo Princip. But, Gavrilo's and Danilo's friendship had not begun primarily in idealism and activism.

Ilić was, if we are to believe all memoirs, similarly charismatic as Gaćinović.[64] Part of his charisma was based on his remarkable

[64] The biographical anecdotes in the next few pages are based on: Sašlusanje Danila Ilića 13/10/1914 in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski atentat,* 109-110; Kosta Krajšumović, 'U prvom razredu preparandije 1908. godine' *Spomenica Danila Ilića* (Sarajevo 1925); Kosta Krajšumović, 'Veleizdajnički Proces u Banjoj Luci' *Politika* 23/9/1929; HAS, Učiteljska Škola Sarajeva, Maturalni Katalog 1907-1923: 1911/1912; *Dvadesettreći godišni izveštaj učiteljske škole u Sarajevu* (Sarajevo 1911); Petar Stojanović, 'Pucnji koji su potresli svet' *Borba* 20/06/1964; Vladimir Gaćinović, 'Danilo Ilić', *Spomenica Danila Ilića*; Vojislav Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna. Pisma i prilozi* (Sarajevo 1954) *passim*.

career-moves and his wanderings, like a Rakhmetov from Chernyshevsky's novel about the "new people". Before he became an activist, he had had a long career in many professions: He had sold newspapers on the street, worked in a theater, refurbished boat and he had peeled potatoes. He later appeared in the town of Kiseljak, where he had to chop rocks in a mine. He then returned to Sarajevo and asked for a scholarship to go to college (*učiteljska škola*). A schoolmate remembers Ilić on the first day of school:

> "We took our books and entered the classroom. There were some new faces among the familiar ones. The teacher came in and introduced himself at the head of the class. He started reading out names and other administrative information. Then he passed the table of Danilo Ilić. He sat in a tattered trousers and a jacket with worn elbows, he had a yellowish face, a curved spine and a high forehead. The teacher asked him, just like anyone asked, what he had done before he enrolled."

After hearing the long list of jobs in distant places the other students were very impressed. "We saw him as a friend who had experienced and endured a lot". With a mediocre report he finished school in 1912 and went to look for work. The provincial government Ilić offered a position as an elementary school teacher in Avtovac in the mountains of Hercegovina. Vladimir Gaćinović wrote in 1916:

> "In Avtovac, in Hercegovina, Danilo became a connoisseur of the human character and misery. In contact with the small, pure spirits of schoolchildren his burning idealism grew and in that quiet, cold schools, he realized the importance of the great fight and the risks of it. In his school, he was a friend of all children, because the school was for him like a large family that breathed and grew in freedom, like a flower that blooms in the sunlight. [...] He understood the noble desire to finish what he had started in Sarajevo, now had to be accomplished. [...] Only one password remained in his life: Forward!"

The personal links between Gaćinović and Ilić were strong. After Gaćinović had volunteered in the First Balkan Wars, they met in Switzerland – where Gaćinović was studying. It was unclear what they were doing there, and when the court asked Ilić in 1914 about it, he replied: "I went there to see if I could study pedagogy (....) There were several South Slavic students. I have talked with two, three of them and asked about school because I had heard that one can enroll at university without a gymnasium degree (...) I returned because I understood that the schools are very expensive, just like daily life (...)".[65] This could be true, but it is more likely that he was there to discuss terrorist activities in Bosnia. Gaćinović understandably stays silent about this meeting in his 1915 obituary for his hanged friend: "In Lausanne, we exchanged a few friendly words. He said: 'Bosnia is rumbling. We need powerful workers to protect our country. But what can you do if your hands are tied?'"[66]

After a week or two, Ilić returned to Bosnia. Meanwhile, a Second Balkan War was imminent. The allied Balkan states, but especially Serbia and Bulgaria, quarreled over the control of the former Turkish province of Macedonia. When war broke out, Danilo Ilić left for the front. A friend remembered how he and Ilić travelled by train from Sarajevo to the Serbian town of Užice, where they were billeted along with many other Serbian volunteers and transported to the front.[67] Once in Skopje they learned that the war had ended, and that the Bulgarian army was already defeated. However, they could work in the battalion of komitadji in Veles, where they were told that they could make themselves useful. A cholera epidemic made many victims and the hospital could still use some volunteers. At that time, about 400 men died per day from the disease.[68]

During two and half months Ilić worked in the hospitals in Veles, Skopje and Niš. These must have been tough experiences.

---

[65] Witness account 19/10/1914 in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 315. See also: Cvjetko Popović, *Oko Sarajevskog Atentata* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1969); Friedrich Würthle, *Die Spur*, 27, 130; Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 358-359; *Spomenica Danila Ilića*, 80-81.

[66] Vlado Gaćinović, 'Danilo Ilić' in: *Spomenica Danila Ilića*, 80-81.

[67] Bogdan Lalić, 'Danilo Ilić u Bugarskom ratu' in: *Spomenica Danila Ilića*, 83-90.

[68] Bogdan Lalić, 'Danilo Ilić u Bugarskom ratu' in: *Spomenica Danila Ilića*, 83-90.

Trotsky spent one of his articles on the Bulgarian volunteers in the hospital and sketched a disturbing image of what was happening: "The medical orderlies were recruited from among the most ignorant, good-for-nothing, low-down elements of the population. After the first engagements, most of them became looters pure and simple. During battle they kept themselves well away from the water and the mud […] once the cannonade had stopped, these stretch-bearers rushed onto the battlefield to steal whatever they could. They ignored groans and calls for help, but hurled themselves onto the dead, to pull off their boots, turn out their pockets, cut away their clothing."[69]

Though these descriptions relate to the Bulgarian camp, it would not have been different with the Serbs and Greeks. The image of idealistic young people in a tidy field hospital who help the poor, diseased soldiers is not plausible. Very likely, Ilić and his friend had to wade through mud, blood and excrements in a mess of dead and half-dead bodies. After the First Balkan War, wherein the Turks and Albanians were targeted, the Bulgarians were next in line.[70] This war was not about idealism. Danilo Ilić stood eye-to-eye with the unappealing excesses of nationalism and militarism.

After his adventures in Macedonia, he worked for some time in Belgrade in the hospital. There he visited the famous cafés in the Bosnian district, such as the *Golden Sturgeon*, *Acorn Wreath* and the *Green Wreath*. As a key figure in the underground of Sarajevo he moved up quickly in the hierarchy. Also in Belgrade he continued to be unattainable - and untraceable. Nevertheless, a former Black Hand member told - decades later – to an Italian historian that he had seen Ilić at the end of October 1913. He apparently stood at his doorstep in the central Serbian town Užice.[71] He said that the Bosnian young people wanted to engage actively in the fight and if he could bring him into contact with the great leader Apis. This officer gave Ilić money for the trip to Belgrade. Then he heard from Ilić no more, at least not in person.

---

[69] Trotsky, *Balkan Wars*, 273.
[70] See for a more detailed outline: *Report of the international commission to inquire into the causes and conduct of the Balkan wars*, 356-378.
[71] Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the World War* II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) 79.

If the memory of the Black Hand officer is reliable and Ilić indeed had visited Užice, it is not yet clear whether Ilić thereafter traveled to Belgrade to speak with Apis, let alone that it is possible to have some knowledge about which they have spoken. But if we can assume the officer spoke the truth, then it is obvious that Ilić was a node in the web which lead to Belgrade's paramilitary and military circles. The recruiter and the mentor were thus working for the secret, distant organization with an enigmatic name. Bakunin, the Godfather of the conspirators, would have been proud of them.

Symbolic social interactions

The reason why I elaborate on the biographical details of Gaćinović and Ilić, is that I want to point the attention to the interpersonal dynamics in the network. Social psychology offers some useful models for clarifying radicalization. Famous psychologist Eirikson wrote that fanatical political behavior is often related to a "negative identity", which means that someone has not successfully handled all stages of an adolescent psychosocial development.[72] To compensate this, he turns to the collective identity of a radical organization in order to find some meaning in life. Many scholars based their assumption that fanatical political behavior is driven by the search for an (individual) identity on Erikson's article. A useful sociological perspective, in which some insights from social psychology are included, is Symbolic Interactionism. Arrigo and Arena have applied five organizing concepts of Structural Symbolic Interactionism to micro-sociological examples of terrorist and political violent movements. These five concepts, that explain some of the interpersonal dynamics in a radical movement, are 1) symbols, 2) the definition of the situation, 3) roles, 4) socialization and role taking and 5) the definition of the self. It is clear that these concepts all are based on the premise that interest or engagement in fanatical behavior is driven by the individual search for identity, or, to put it vaguely: the "self".

[72] In: Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (London: Norton and Co, 1994(1968)), 91-95. Cited in: Michael Arena and Bruce Arrigo, "Social Psychology, Terrorism, and Identity: A Preliminary Re-examination of Theory, Culture, Self, and Society" *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 23 (2005), 485-506: 486.

In the previous chapter I have explained how the symbolic violence of the Austro-Hungarian government was "internalized" by the radical and social isolated Bosnian-Serb students. During the demonstrations in Sarajevo the demonstrating students burned a Hungarian flag and broke the windows of the Hungarian grammar school. They sang songs (*"Hey Slaveni"*, and others) to provoke the Austrians, and marched through town while screaming slogans. In the perspective of Symbolic Interactionists, the people do react not so much to the reality itself, as well as the symbolic meaning they have given to reality. In this case it is striking how the complicated cultural mission, the governmental structure of the Empire and the educational and cultural policy of Sarajevo were "symbolized" in strong narratives of "occupants" and "rebel students". They targeted the symbols. These narratives have not only a strong meaning, but a cohesive function for the movement as well. In this context, the second concept ("definition of the situation") is relevant. According to Thomas and Thomas in an article about symbolic meanings and reality it works like this: "If men [and women] define situations as real, then they are real in their consequences".[73] To be concrete: the given situations of the Austrian occupier and the Bosnian occupied is perceived as utterly real. Hence, the reaction (demonstrations, violence) were supposed to be utterly real.

These elaborations are, in fact, all introductions to the point I want to make about the meaning of *roles*. Looking at the interaction between Vladimir Gaćinović, Danilo Ilić, the young pupil Gavrilo Princip, and, eventually, the Sarajevo bomber Nedeljko Čabrinović, it is clear that they all took up one of the roles necessary to fight the (imagined, perhaps symbolized) oppression. They learned from Stepniak's *Underground Russia* (see Part IV). The book includes a number of "revolutionary profiles", the so-called archetypes of the revolution, impersonated in the agitator, the propagandist, the warrior, the conciliator and the coordinator. It is rather striking how consistently Ilić and Gaćinović modeled themselves to Stepniak's archetypes. Ilić was the ultimate coordinator. The writer Gaćinović presented himself

[73] W. I. Thomas and D.S. Thomas, *The child in America*. (New York: Knopf, 1928) 567), cited in Arrigo and Arena, "Social Psychology, Terrorism, and Identity", 491.

as the agitator, who inspired his fellow-revolutionaries and who recruited new members. Some of the other roles, however, were not yet occupied. This is where the other figures enter. Although this process of dividing roles seems to be a very individualistic and specific process, it is, also, very social. These social roles in a small group process are, actually, "symbols" of positions in society. Besides that, some roles, for example those described in *Underground Russia*, have some symbolic yet historical meaning: these roles exist forever, since the persons who take the roles are interchangeable. Therefore, the roles are not just "tasks" in a group, but fundamental motors of human action, and, in this case, symbols of different types of political engagement. Some fellows, like Gaćinović, were assigned a role (by the Black Hand). Other, however, chose and took their role. Then they played it with verve.

Gavrilo Princip searching for the self

Gavrilo Princip was born in the Bosnian periphery, near a small town called Grahovo. He moved to Sarajevo to enter the merchant's school, where he was unhappy.[74] Later he managed to enroll at the elitist Sarajevo Gymnasium, after a very short study-period at the gymnasium of Tuzla.[75] In Sarajevo he lived in different houses, including the house of Danilo Ilić's mother Stoja at the Oprkanj Street – close to the Čaršija.[76] Although the parents and grandparents of Gavrilo Princip had lived in the most horrid poverty, things were rapidly changing for the good. His older brother, Jovo, was a successful entrepreneur in the margins of Sarajevo, working in the lumber trade. The progress in the Princip-family was a good illustration of some kind of Austro-Hungarian material progress in the backward Balkan province of Bosnia: The grandfather, Jovo, had been something of a clan leader in a traditional extended family, serving as a serf for the Ottoman landlord Beg Sijerčić; his son Petar split the official family household structure and went to work as a postman under the new Austrian rule.[77] Then, the

[74] Kranjčević, *Uspomene,* 26-27.
[75] Vojislav Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat. Pisma i Saopštenja* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965) 56.
[76] Van Hengel, *Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, 49-50.
[77] More about Beg Sijercic: Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878 do 1918.* (Sarajevo: Ibn Sina, 2005) 230.

grandson Jovo made a career as an entrepreneur and became a businessman. He began his working life as a migrant worker in a new economic order. In three generations Princips had jumped over centuries of social and cultural change: From feudalism to capitalism, and from family-related to more individualistic lifepaths, from collective to individual ambition, and from the peripheral countryside to the urban centre.[78]

Gavrilo's encounter with the educational system and the cultural mission did not have a very positive influence on his political ideas, at least not from the perspective of the Austro-Hungarian colonial hegemony. He moved to Belgrade and volunteered in the Balkan War. He did indeed spend some time in the military camps of Southern Serbia, but, in the end, he was not taken as a soldier for reasons of being too small and too weak.[79] After returning to Belgrade and Sarajevo, he seemed to be lost in-between adolescent and adult life, between Bosnia and Serbia, and between his poor performance as a student, and his dream to become a national warrior.

We cannot tell how he would have developed as a teenager if he had not met Danilo Ilić in Sarajevo, his mentor and best friend. It shows that the social networks, not necessarily related to political engagement, are key to participation in political engagement. Ilić introduced Princip in the world of revolutionary writers, activist youth, and perhaps terrorist ideas. Ilić's room in his tiny house in the Oprkanj 3 was like a small library. After the assassination the police searched through his room and found there copies of Stepniak's *Underground Russia*, Bakunin's articles, *Who is to Blame?* by Alexander Herzen, and many other books and pamphlets.

When Gavrilo Princip had returned to Bosnia he wrote to his family in Grahovo he considered visiting home for some days. However, he added: "I don't know what I should do there."[80] The

[78] Details of the Princip family in: Van Hengel, *Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, 23-33; 37-46. "Rapid modernization" is, though in a contemporary context, one of the "roots of political violence" as articulated by the OSCE. See: Edwin Bakker and Eelco Kessels. "The OSCE's efforts to counter violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism: A comprehensive approach addressing root causes?" *Security & Human Rights* 23, no. 2 (June 2012): 89-99.
[79] Van Hengel, *Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*, 172-175.
[80] Arhiv BiH ZOP 32.307.

postcard was never sent because the police confiscated it, together with Ilić's book. The remark that he did not know what to do in the periphery might relate with his search for any meaning in life, if not, for an identity. Interestingly, in these days, after the Balkan Wars, he met often with Danilo Ilić, who was, by that time, doing preparation for founding a social-democratic newspaper in Sarajevo. Again, Ilić had taken up the role of Stepniak's coordinator, he was the one initiating. However, there was not yet a warrior – a person in charge of the "deeds". There is reason to believe that Princip grew into in his role of the "warrior" after the Balkan Wars, in which he, unlike Gaćinović and Ilić, had not participated. Unfortunately, we can only rely on some very vague memories of family members, who later recalled how he had been anxiously silent and worrisome in the winter days of 1913. His mother recalled how he rarely looked her in the eyes, and instead stared at the ground. He only would rise up out of apathy when he was speaking about the suicide of Bogdan Žerajić. His aunt in Arežin Brijeg remembered his reply to her remark that looked pale and bleak: "Aunt, I only live for the people."[81]

More interesting than these blurry memories of aunts and grannies are perhaps the memories of Princip himself, as he shared them much later in prison with doctor Pappenheim. There, in the cells of Theresienstadt, it was noted that he said:

> "…was always in company of Ilić, who has since died; was his best friend. Resolved that one of them should make an attempt on Potiorek. That was in October or November, 1913. He was in the hospital. Ilić was a little lightheaded, spoke of pan-Slavist ideas, said they should first create an organization. In all Bosnia and Croatia. Then, when all was ready, they should make the attempt. Therefore the plan was given up. Wanted first to study further himself, at Belgrade in a library. Thought he was not yet ripe and independent enough to be able to think about it."[82]

[81] The memoirs of the family are from the Lebedev's files, cited in Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 234-240, *passim*.
[82] *Ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo. Gavrilo Princips Bekenntnisse* (Vienna: Lechner & Sohn, 1926), 15.

It seems that in 1914, Princip and Ilić swapped roles. Princip had looked up to Ilić, because of his vigorous organizational skills, and his revolutionary aura. The two entirely different experiences in the Balkan wars had driven them apart. Ilić had seen hell firsthand, Princip not, he had only read about. After the Balkan wars Ilić therefore wanted to implement a more constructive way to his idealism, while Princip longed for the fight, for the destruction. He wanted to 'become' someone.

The definition of the self, hence, is the essential component of structural symbolic interactionism. Through "finding" himself, the young assassin could play his role, and become a person.

It is hard to find the weak spot in Princip's upbringing that could clarify his "negative identity". Was the young assassin driven by desperation? Did he radicalize in a position of social isolation? This is debatable. In case we can take the memoirs of his family and friends any serious, it seems that he was born in a more or less warm-hearted environment, where parents cared for the children's upbringing. He was physically weak, and he went through a lot of troubles in Belgrade, but he could always return to his parental home in Grahovo. Jovo, his brother, took care of the money and property and – based on interviews and field work in Hadžići, I can conclude that he was quite a successful entrepreneur.[83] Other sources tell that Gavrilo's father was a respected man in the local community, who planted fruit trees along the roads.[84] Most likely, it was the alienation in Serbia and the humiliation of not taking part in the Balkan Wars front that possessed him. He failed in Belgrade, his school career was far from successful, and he missed the

[83] In June 2013 I had a long conversation in Eastern Sarajevo with Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian-Serb entrepreneur and the grand-nephew of Jovo Princip. This Gavrilo Princip was born and raised in the residence of Jovo Princip in Hadžići and had spent his childhood there. He took me on a trip in the region and brought me to the most important spots of the Princip family. Surprisingly, the (former) Princip-house in Hadžići was very big, the most central house of the small town. Today, the residence is in use as the town hall. Gavrilo Princip recalled the relative wealth of his uncle Jovo Princip before the Second World War, and how he was respected as one of the captains of industry in the region. It is possible that the distant relative was exaggerating, but still some facts hold true: the Princip house was the biggest and the most central of the town.

[84] Božidar Tomić, „Rod i dom Gavrila Principa: O Principovom roditeljima" *Narodna Odbrana* 19 (1939) nr. 47,745-746.

opportunity to become a war-hero at the front. He had to manifest himself in a different way, he had – unlike Ilić – to do something. Princip, as a former bookworm, therefore decided to turn away from the intellectual role and pick the role of assassin, or, if one may say, Stepniak's "warrior".

Misfits, martyrs, heroes

Another example of a young Bosnian assassin with a problematic personal profile is Nedeljko Čabrinović, who was already mentioned earlier. As a son of the lower urban middle class, struggling with his father's authoritarian methods and behavior, he grew up as a troublemaker. He worked in different places, was a typographer in Trieste and Belgrade, lived in poor conditions in Novi Sad, and was banned from Sarajevo for sabotaging a printing plant. He was constantly suffering from both mental and physical problems. In a letter he wrote:

> "I can't seem to get rid of my debts. Friends come and go, they're known and unknown, and I help all of them. (...) I have lost contact with my father. And he, the 'hero', takes revenge on my poor mother and the children. My older sister has fled from his violence to Karlovac. I'll take care for some money for my mother ... in secret, because he would spend everything. I have many concerns about the 'family circumstances'. Because of them, I must endure all this hardships. It is quite well possible that one day I take revenge, and it is not impossible that I would strangle my father, my God! I get more yellow and weaker every day. I began to sweat terribly. I have lost ten kilos in six months. That must mean something."[85]

These two misfits, Nedeljko Čabrinović and Gavrilo Princip, apparently took the decision to organize the assassination.[86] In the court reports it is obvious that they shared a feverish need for destruction. Both were also not free of narcissism, and they competed amongst each other. Princip, later recalled that Čabrinović was no real intellectual, but a

[85] Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 71-74.
[86] Vojislav Bogićević, 'Poreklo isečka iz novina' *Pregled* 9 (1935/143-144) 626-628.

"typographer, not enough intelligent".[87] This, in turn, was to mask his humble peasant background. Their friendship cooled down immediately after the assassination. Possibly, it had been bad before. The extravert and impulsive typographer Čabrinović and the failed student and arrogant bookworm Princip both suffered from their own and each other's egos. Their supposedly shared idealism was masking some serious interpersonal tensions.

The quarrelling had already begun while they were plotting the attack in the cafes of Belgrade. After they had sworn to commit the crime, they found a third associate in the Bosnian-Serb student Trifko Grabež. Princip was, as he told police, initially reluctant to involve Grabež in the conspiracy. This, he said, was because: "He is a noble soul and a humble man. That's why I wanted to save him from this conspiracy." But Grabež decided to get involved on his own initiative, without Princip persuading him. He commented: "If I had not gone to Belgrade, I would not have participated in such an attack, but Princip's enthusiasm had a contagious impact on me"[88].

Princip was less laudatory about Čabrinović, both to the police and the court. He spoke disapprovingly of Čabrinović and said he did not believe his fellow conspirator had any level of intelligence. When the boys went to collect their weapons at the house of the Black Hand coordinator Voja Tankosić in Belgrade, Princip suggested that Čabrinović would stay home. Čabrinović later admitted that Princip very well could have been right, because "even in the most serious moments I do laugh."[89]

On May 28 Princip, Čabrinović and Grabež left from Belgrade with a steamer on the Danube to Šabac. Each of them carried two bombs on the belt, and the guns in their bags. During the boat trip Čabrinović would babble with a policeman. Though he did not tell so much about the final destination, the other two were very concerned. Later, on the same trip, Čabrinović betrayed the conspiracy while talking to a war veteran. Princip was furious. He felt that his jolly companion would ruin the whole project and he suggested to throw Čabrinović out of the

[87] *Ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo. Gavrilo Princips Bekenntnisse* (Vienna: Lechner & Sohn, 1926), 15.
[88] HHSt, NEFF, Prozess in Sarajevo, 103.
[89] Saslušanje Čabrinovića in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 37.

conspiracy. Soon thereafter another incident took place. When Princip and Čabrinović were writing postcards home, the former just saw an opportunity to dispel any suspicion, while the latter used them to hint at what they were doing. As soon as Princip read what Čabrinović had written on the postcards, he was furious again. Čabrinović did not take it, and told in court that he had screamed at the others.[90] The rest of day they no longer spoke to each other. Eventually Princip and Grabež decided that Čabrinović had to travel alone, and they took his weapons.

In prison: Trifko Grabez, Nedeljko Cabrinovic, Danilo Ilic, Gavrilo Princip

These and other anecdotes were shared in the police reports and court documents. It turns out that both boys were trying to denigrate the other. Especially Čabrinović was the scapegoat. It is, after all, very likely that the heroism of Princip and Čabrinović sometimes was nothing but the result of a childish bickering between two immature boys. The fact that Čabrinović's bomb did not hit a target on June 28, and Princip successfully assassinated the heir also contributed to the mutual animosity. Again, they picked roles: Princip played the hero, Čabrinović repented. This is also very visible on the prison pictures of the group, sided by the Austrian policemen. Princip positions in front, and Čabrinović is at the back – looking miserably. Another young man who looks quite miserable on the picture, is Danilo Ilić.

[90] Ibidem, 45.

Danilo Ilić too became victim of Gavrilo Princip's desire for recognition. Both the police reports and the court papers shows that he seemingly had to pay for all errors. Earlier I wrote that Princip said that Ilić had lost orientation because he was aiming for pan-Slavic ideals, and worked on ideas for a larger, broader coalition.

He was nevertheless quite actively engaged in the crucial conspiracy, but it seems that he had completely other things on his mind. In the weeks before the attack he founded a socialist newspaper called *Zvono* (the Bell). In tone and style he had been inspired by the Russian magazine Kolokol (the Bell) of Alexander Herzen. Possibly, after the Balkan Wars, Ilić preferred the more intellectual Herzen than the mysterious terrorists from *Underground Russia*. His productivity in the last days before the attack is quite remarkable. The first issue of The Bell was released on May 15. In the weeks to come he published several articles, including an interesting piece about the story *The Seven Who Were Hanged* by the Russian writer Leonid Andreyev.[91] He wrote: "In *The Seven Who Were Hanged* Andreyev tries to discuss the problem of reconciliation with a death, in the name of a higher purpose. In a letter Andreyev wrote: "It was my intention to warn in this tale of horror and injustice of the death penalty".[92] Since Ilić was the only adult in the group, he was the only who would be punished by hanging. These emotions he might have incorporated in the review. Other remarks in the police report tell that Ilić planned to prevent the assassination. This was confirmed by Princip, who told the investigating judge that he "repeatedly had stressed that we should not carry out the attack because the time was not suitable for it and because it would bring us no benefit. But I did not agree, because a morbid desire for the attack had been growing inside of me."[93]

At a certain moment in court, Ilić's lawyer said that had spoken to the judge because he "did not obey Princip anymore".[94] This is quite remarkable, because Princip had for years been the pupil and Ilić the

[91] Danilo Ilić, 'Leonid Andrejev' in: *Spomenica Danila Ilića*, 73-75
[92] Ibidem.
[93] HHSt-Archiv, NEFF, *Prozess in Sarajevo*, 108.
[94] Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 388.

mentor. It shows how, in the smallest social networks of the assassins, the pupils become teachers. The relation between Princip and Ilić was one of fratricide, if not patricide. Another prisoner wrote how Princip was mad at Ilić because he had given all the names of the conspirators, and recalled how, when they were brought back to their individual cells, Princip told him: "The only just thing in this trial is that Danilo will be brought to dead."[95]

The fight between the former teacher and pupil is exemplified in the awkward conversation they held in front of the court:

> Princip: "He spoke several times that we had to halt the attack. I have let him talk until he stopped talking about it [...] I know that I would not deviate from my plan. I just told him when he started talking about it again"
> Ilić: "So I thought he had decided not to do it."
> Princip (to the judge): "He can defend himself as he wishes, but I say what I think".

Last speeches

In court, the student boys again shifted roles and turned into new archetypes. Čabrinović seemed to regret the assassination, and in the final session he took the opportunity to share his ideas:

> "(...) I would like to present to you in a clear way those circumstances which influenced us before the assassination and I request that you listen to me carefully (...) We did not hate Austria, but Austria, after she had occupied Bosnia 33 years ago, it has not improved the living conditions, it has not resolved the agrarian question ... these are the motifs that triggered us. Before our paths separate from one another, I wish that you realize and recognize that we are not criminals. We have loved our people. Life is tough for ninety-nine percent of our people. The people are lamenting, suffering, there is no education, no culture ... it hurts us. We felt the anguish of our people, we did not hate the House of Habsburg.

[95] Kranjčević, cited in: Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, 198.

> Although I nourished anarchist ideas, and I hated everything, never in a single thought was I against His Highness Franz Joseph. The only thing that bothered me was that he gets 60,000 crowns per day. We did not plan this assassination of Franz Ferdinand. We have acknowledged that the idea was not developed in us. In the society in which we lived there was always talk of assassination. We read the newspapers glorifying the attacks of Žerajić and Jukić. […] We thought that noble people were capable of assassination. But the people we lived among talked about Franz Ferdinand, they regarded him as an enemy of the Slavs. We heard of him that he was an enemy of the Slavs. Nobody told us directly 'kill him!' but in that milieu we came to that idea. […] Then I want to say something else. Though Princip plays the hero, and all of us play the hero, we regret because we did not know that Franz Ferdinand was the father of a family. The words "Sofie, stay alive for our children…" moved us tremendously. We are what you want, but we are not criminals. I hereby ask, on behalf of myself and my friends, the children of the heir to the throne for forgiveness, and you render whatever verdict you like. We are not criminals, we are honest people, noble idealists, we wanted to do something good, we loved the people we will die for our ideals."[96]

After this confusing speech, Princip stood up and said: "Someone is trying to suggest here that someone else was the initiator, but that's not the truth. The idea is originated by us and therefore we have perpetrated the attack. We loved the people. I have nothing more to say about my defense."[97]

[96] In 2013 in Vienna I had a conversation with Georg Hohenberg, the grandson of Franz Ferdinand. He could tell me that his father indeed had forgiven Nedeljko Čabrinović. A catholic priest named Pater Puntigam had brought the message to Nedeljko Čabrinović personally. This is confirmed in: Ivo Kranjčević, *Uspomene Jednog Učesnika u Sarajevskom Atentatu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1964) 105. The full speech of Čabrinović can be found in: Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 399.
[97] Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 399.

Personalities and symbolic social interactions

Radicalization processes are social processes. Political engagement rises in social interactions, especially when a group turns to, as Crossley puts it, a 'radical habitus' - echoing Pierre Bourdieu.[98] The habitus is here seen as a set of norms, values and discourse. Recruiters with strong personalities, such as Gaćinović and Ilić, attracted – and, hence, recruited – boys with lesser social abilities and a lower self-esteem. A key aspect of the symbolic interactions between the young Bosnians I discussed here, is the 'role'. Since these networks were rather loose, and the organization was simply non-existent, the individuals who had the closest ties all took up one of the 'roles' in the movement.

This was, after all, a very small movement. Gaćinović had founded the cells, the kruzhoks, in several parts of Central and Southeastern Europe. These kruzhoks did not have more than three members – who knew each other well, but had no contact with the other cells. The role-picking was not top-down organized by any organization, not even by the Black Hand. The interpersonal contacts between for example Vladimir Gaćinović and Danilo Ilić on the one hand, and on the other hand, Nedeljko Čabrinović and Gavrilo Princip, were crucial in the radicalization. After the first two recruiters had faced the atrocities done in the Balkan Wars they shifted their attention to the organizational work. They might have had enough of violence. Meanwhile, the younger and unskilled, yet unexperienced students, took up the role of the 'warriors' if not 'assassins' – they wanted to become the fighters for the cause. Apparently most of these revolutionary roles were modelled after the 'revolutionary profiles' from Stepniak's Russian terrorist handbook *Underground Russia*. There is, however, no defining evidence that this was the case, but since Gaćinović and Ilić were strong supporters of the book, and the book itself was eventually found in Gavrilo Princip's bedroom – there is some reason to believe that they took much inspiration from that source.

The function of roles, instead of tasks, is important in order to understand the process of 'becoming' of the young Bosnian assassins. Roles are timeless. The transformation of the "self", as a historical deed,

[98] Nick Crossley, "From Reproduction to Transformation: Social Movement Fields and the Radical Habitus" *Theory, Culture and Society* 20 (2003/6), 43-68.

was possible because they took up roles, corresponding with the timelessness of the cause. By taking up roles, the young boys could not only "become" a person, but they could also give meaning to their fanatical behavior, by "becoming" history. From a symbolist interactionist perspective, they attributed a historical and partly cultural meaning to their role, and hence "incorporated" the social cause.

Eventually, the radicalization was incited by personal quarrels and fights. Often is radicalization in groups sharing the same fanatical behavior a complicated combination of both the intensified incorporation of the shared ideal and message, and egos growing into abnormal proportions. Gavrilo Princip wanted to get out of the shadow of Danilo Ilić; Nedeljko Čabrinović wanted to compete with Gavrilo Princip, and vice-versa; Danilo Ilić wanted to be remembered as the writing intellectual, and Vladimir Gaćinović distanced himself soon after the assassination from his imprisoned friends. He was, in the autumn of 1914, on the run. But he found time to write to a friend, and express his father-like worries about his young, "very young" friends in Sarajevo: "Their fatal mistake was that they were very, very young, and that they believed too much, like children, and have recklessly thrown their own and the national fate into the maelstrom of blood and uncertainties."[99]

6.3: Mobilization of past and present: Cultural contexts

Is there a cultural context to violence? In academia, some anthropologists, including Clifford Geertz, have pointed at histories of violent tribal animosities in order to explain outbursts of contemporary political violence.[100] The intergenerational transmission of violent

[99] Letter of Gaćinović to Rosa Merčep, dated 20/10/1914 (Marseille), in Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 246-250:247.

[100] This primordialist approach is explained in: Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution," in Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: Free Press, 1963).

habitus, and the existence of long-run, perhaps violent characters of nations that can increase in time, was explained by some sociologists. Norbert Elias shared a rather primordial concept of the Germans: "The fortunes of a nation over the centuries become sedimented into the habitus of its individuals."[101]

The Balkans have often been perceived as a "culturally" violent region - especially during the civil war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. A discursive image of the Balkans as a place of enduring violent behavior was framed' and 'profiled' in popular media: These people, in the corner of Europe, fought *because* they culturally hated each other. According to Robert Kaplan, it was Adolf Hitler that had learned to hate "infectiously" in the smoky bars in Vienna, where the young South Slavic students were scheming their plans.[102] The image of the Balkans as an endemic place of hatred is, however, older. It was rooted in early 20th century journalism, 19th century travel literature, and, consequently, in the self-orientalization of the people on the Balkans too.[103]

Interestingly, especially the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 have functioned as a very strong image supporting the idea that Balkan-people irrationally hate each other and are burdened with a violent past that never seems to come to an end. The report of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, that was mentioned earlier, appeared a key document explaining the complexities of the Balkans in general and Balkan Wars in detail. In 1992 it was re-published with a new introduction which implied that the situation of 1912 was very similar to the situation in 1992.[104] This re-issue of the report was strongly criticized by Maria Todorova in her *Imagining the Balkans*. According to her, the analogy of all (the three) 20th century Balkan Wars was simplistic, and served nothing but a discursive image of the "other", or the "significant other": the Balkans as the dark attic of the West, the

[101] Norbert Elias, *The Germans* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 19.
[102] Robert Kaplan, *Balkan ghosts. A journey through history* (New York: St. Martin Press 1993) xxiii.
[103] A good anthology of travel literature is: Omer Hadžiselimović (ed.), *At the gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the sixteenth to the twentieth Centuries* (New York: Boulder, 2001).
[104] George Kennan, *The Other Balkan Wars: A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect*. (Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993).

cultural powder keg, the Mordor of Europe…. Todorova's thesis has made school in Balkan Studies and the academic debate about "othering" has been dominating the research in this field for more than two decades.[105]

We cannot put the "cultural" explanation of violence in the young Bosnian network put aside because the reasoning behind it is fallacious. There are two reasons for that. First, the "cultural" causes of violence were expressed by the historical actors themselves. The radical writing of the nationalist youth was full of metaphors of blood and soil and age-old animosities. Here, as Maria Todorova would call it, self-Orientalization was at hand. The other reason is that political violence always has a cultural character, a cultural reasoning, because it is the sublimation of ideas into acts. In the previous chapter I already wrote about the "cultural reflexes" as a byproduct of a high moral salience. The "propaganda of the deed" can only be understood if both the deed and the propaganda are scrutinized. Therefore, we must get into the cultural reasoning of the young Bosnians, in order to understand its self-sustaining logic.

Question: Making history

A crucial aspect of modern terrorist thinking is that the past must be mobilized: By positioning oneself in time, the terrorist get a clearer self-image, and a better profile of the enemy. Terrorism is therefore directly associated with the dominant role of the media in the modern world: the terrorist position themselves in a story, a narrative, and – if possible – in history itself.

This awareness of history is modern. A modern "historical consciousness" (in German: *Geschichtsbewußtsein*) is, in the explanation of Jörn Rüsen, not only about how to memorize or commemorate the past, but also about the wish to connect this very past with the present, and expectations of the future. Rüsen wrote: "Geschichtsbewusstsein ist Vollzug und Resultat dieser Synthese: Sie prägt sich in der Vorstellung eines Zeitverlaufs aus, der an Vorgangen

[105] See introduction, footnote 23.

der Vergangenheit Zusammenhänge von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft sinnenfallig macht."[106]

This historical consciousness, the wish to create meaning of past and present and future is, according to Rüsen and others, indeed rooted in modernity. If we connect this historical consciousness with the notion that terrorists want to position themselves in history, it makes sense to have a look at the way how the young Bosnian assassins conceived their own deeds.

The similarities between a dialectic and a *linear* conception of history is that both are based on the idea of a development. The modern linear approach takes history as a development, from A to B, instead of repetitive or cyclical patterns, or, to speak with Hegel, as antitheses. Another conception is the non-linear, some say "vital", conception of history. The history, seen from this perspective, can be "experienced", though briefly, in a state where past, present and perhaps some future meet. Recently, the Dutch historian Adriaansen argued that the German youth movements in the early 20th century, the *Wandervögel*, shared a non-linear and vital conception of history.[107] They glorified, but at the same time internalized the distant German or Germanic past, by strolling through forests, and singing and dancing around the fireplace. Returning to the acts of Princip, it makes sense to analyze the historical positioning of the assassins, and how they gave meaning to their deeds. It does not only explain some parts of the fanatic behavior, but it also can shine some light on the meaning they gave to their personal and social awareness of being young.

In the next pages I analyze what was the perception of continuity and discontinuity in the violent deeds of Gavrilo Princip. The *continuity* of the assassins' acts are reflected in the belief they were fighting for a historical cause: the creation of a greater Serbian Empire, resembling the bygone land of Tsar Lazar. This continuity with the enduring fight of the Serbian race against the Turkish, then Austrian occupiers, is clearly visible in the ideological writings of the young Bosnians. Continuity gave meaning to their present struggle. On the

[106] Jörn Rüsen, *Historische Orientierung: Über die Arbeit des Geschichtsbewußtseins, sich in der Zeit zurechtzufinden* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 8.
[107] Robbert-Jan Adriaansen, *The Rhythm of Eternity: The German Youth Movement and the Experience of the Past, 1900-1933*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015, 8.

other hand did the assassins also long for discontinuity. They associated their transformation and "becoming" with the act of breaking – with the past, and with history.

Continuity: Hajduks, Kosovo, and an age-old yearning for liberty

Central in the "continuous" struggle of the Balkan people, and the Serbs in particular, is the *hajduk*, the romantic peasant-warrior from the mountains, an almost mythical figure of epic poetry and national (or nationalized) liberation stories of the Balkan states. When speaking of epic poetry, the connection between the hajduk and the legend of the Kosovo battle is easily made. Most books on the Sarajevo outrage traditionally begin with a chapter on the epic poetry about the battle on the field of the blackbirds (Kosovo Polje) in 1389. The analogy is not hard to find: Princip assassinated the Austrian heir on the same day of the legendary medieval battle against the Turks. This might be the link. This "Kosovo-connection" therefore must be addressed: What was the meaning of the Kosovo-myth in the message of the young Bosnian assassins?

Before elaborating on some answers, I must briefly summarize the Kosovo myth. The facts about what really happened on the 28th of June in 1389 are scarce: the Turks were advancing into the second half of the fourteenth century and moved up north, into the Balkans.[108] They had occupied parts of present Bulgaria and forced the Serbian rulers to become vassals. They refused, and so it happened that on the 28th of June (Day of Saint Vitus, Vidovdan) on the field of Blackbirds (Kosovo Polje) a Slavic alliance, led by the Serbian Tsar Lazar, encountered the Ottoman army under the command of Sultan Murad I. The fighting was fierce, and both warlords got killed. This battle marked the end of the medieval Serbian empire and in the following centuries the Ottomans would occupy large parts of the Balkans. The Turks moved into the cities, and the Slavic population fled into the mountains. The rest of the story is mostly based on legends and myths. Of course, there are traitors

[108] See: Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A short history* (London; Macmillan, 1998); Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo 1389* (New York: Boulder, 1990); Raymond Detrez, *Kosovo: De uitgestelde oorlog* (Antwerp: Houtekiet, 1999); J.R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a country* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996); R. Elsie, *Kosovo in the heart of the powder keg* (New York: Boulder, 1997).

and heroes. Miloš Obilić was a man of the latter category: he managed to penetrate into the heart of the Ottoman army camp and assassinate the sultan. Historically, it is difficult to verify the facts of this event. True or not, it is interesting to see that the act already became some kind of religious legend of significance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The legend survived because of the tradition of oral poetry. According to Dedijer, the legend of Miloš Obilić did transform into a more generally understood national ideology of armed struggle against the foreign invader.[109] Vuk Branković, another Serbian knight, was the traitor of the story. He seemingly collaborated with the Turks and was portrayed in the poem as the odious antidote to the glorious Obilić.

Yet it was perhaps not so much the content as well as the grammar and style of the epic songs that had a major influence on the thinking and frame of reference for both "national awakeners" in the 19th century, as well as the "national educators" of the early 20th century. In other words: the epic poetry was more semiotics than content. Peter Burke believed that the early modern Europeans were consciously that much educated and formed in a biblical universe, that, subsequently, they shaped their language, memory and dreams in a biblical style. According to the German historian Marcus Koller, this may have happened similarly in the case of epic lyricism and the educational and intellectual frame of reference of the Balkans peoples.[110] In the early 20th century, these stories became also a means of emancipation in the upbringing of the nation. The epic poetry about Miloš Obilić, the dead Tsar Lazar, and the battle of Kosovo Polje could be written down and reach readers, since they were printed and distributed.[111]

---

[109] See chapter 9 "Kosovsko Tiranoubistvo" in *Sarajevo 1914*.

[110]Marcus Koller and Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia: A history in peril* (Wisconsin; Wisconsin University Press, 2004), 18.

[111] The emphasis on the Kosovo-poetry and the epic tradition of the Balkans in western media and historiography might be rooted as well in the 19th century romanticist cultural transfer between the German and South-Slavic word. In 1813 the Serbian language reformer and ethnologist Vuk Karadžić traveled to Vienna and Jena and met there Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Jacob Grimm. In German-speaking academia there was much interest in translating South-Slavic poetry. The German historian Leopold von Ranke praised the Serbian folk tales and Adam Mickiewicz (The "Polish Goethe") made an attempt to translate the poetry into Polish. And Goethe himself, the master, wrote in his diary: "Seit Homers Gedichten gab es in ganz Europa keine Erscheinung zu erwähnen, die uns den Sinn und das Entstehen des Epos

Mountain Wreath

Now let me return to the early 20th century and focus on the Kosovo-myth in the Young Bosnians' writings. Friedrich Würthle, whose works were mentioned before, made an interesting distinction between the literary and cultural inspirations of the assassins Gavrilo Princip and Danilo Ilić. The former was inspired by the very local ideology of a "Serbian-religious national thought, rooted in the Obilić-myth", while the latter, Danilo Ilić, was rather inspired by the thought of modern Russian anarchists. [112] Würthle's distinction points at indeed two important sources of inspiration for most of the radical young Bosnians. When we take a look on the youth periodicals discussed in the part V, Würthle's distinction is visible. As point of reference are used either the modern and international writers of that time, or, on the other hand, the local Serbian myths and legends.

This older "Obilić-myth" was re-shaped in the 19th century by the Montenegrin prince-bishop Njegoš, who wrote the epic story *Gorski Vijenac* (Mountain Wreath) about the medieval Slavic fight against the Turks. The epic poem was written in 1847, shortly before Njegoš died (in 1851). In a 1930 publication of this canonized standard-work of national pride and identity, the Serbian introduction claims that the *Mountain Wreath* "reveals the essence and substance of a race that has had to go through many tribulations and fight against many difficulties."[113] An important theme in the narrative of the Mountain

---

hätte klar darlegen können, wie es mit der serbischen Poesie der Fall ist." [Cited in: Miodrag Vukic, „Vuk Karadzic zwisschen Grimm und Goethe. Eine Skizze ihrer Wechselwirkung und Freundschaft" in: Wilfried Potthof (eds.), *Vuk Karadzic im europäischen Kontext* (Heidelberg; Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), 134-148: 147.]

I emphasize the German reception here quite explicitly, because the "National Awakening" of the South Slavic nations were very much inspired by Central-European thinking of Herder's *Volksgeist*, and romantic nationalism. This means that the Kosovo-myth might have had very local ingredients, but still was based on a rather international recipe of myth-making for integrating the nation.

[112] Friedrich Würthle, "Die schuldigen und die verantwortlichen" *Die Furche* (date not applicable). Kriegsarchiv - B964 – Nachlass Friedrich Würthle – 267.

[113] Vladeta Popovic, "Introduction", in: The *Mountain Wreath of P.P. Nyegosh, Prince Bishop of Montenegro 1830-1851*. trans. James William Wyles (London: Woking.-Unwin Brothers Ltad 1930), 11; cited in: Cathie Carmichael, "'Neither

Wreath is the fight against Turks, or "Turks", in the meaning of "Islamicized Slavs". The heroism of Miloš Obilić is essential in the *Mountain Wreath*. Njegoš mentions Obilić, more than any other figure from Serbian history, and makes his act, the assassination of Sultan Murat, into a sacred deed, a holy mission in the name of the nation.[114] Njegoš, as a typical product of the 19th century, hence transformed the old medieval virtues into a national ideology. He put the self-sacrifice of Miloš Obilić in a national and religious context: the Serbian knight died for the liberation of the Slavs, for the future of the race.

From the medieval epic poetry about the Kosovo battle, via the Mountain Wreath of Njegoš, it is only a small step to the writings of Jovan Cvijić, a contemporary of the Young Bosnians who accidently wrote for the Viennese *Zora*. Cvijić was a respected scholar in his time, but some of his cultural geography was already dubious by that time. The geographer believed that the "Dinaric man", the hajduk-styled peasant warrior of the isolated mountainous regions, had an "ardent desire to avenge Kosovo…and to resuscitate the Serbian Empire… even in circumstances where the less courageous or a man of pure reason would have despaired. Betrayed by circumstances and events, abandoned by all, he has never renounced his national and social ideas."[115] In fact, he linked the geographical circumstances of the people in Bosnia to the mythical consciousness, and stressed the inherent rebellious nature of the Slavic peasants in the region.

Gavrilo Princip, and with him many other young Bosnians, knew the verses of the Mountain Wreath by heart.[116] Vladimir Gaćinović sent some abstracts of the Mountain Wreath to his fellow-revolutionaries in Slovenia. And Danilo Ilić, the friend of Gavrilo Princip, had a version of the Mountain Wreath in his house before the police arrived there to arrest him (and confiscated his books). Paul Jackson states that the verses of the Mountain Wreath were used as

---

Serbs, nor Turks, neither water not wine, but odious renegades': The Ethnic Cleansing of Slav Muslims and its Role in Serbian and Montenegrin Discourses since 1800" in: Bela Varady (ed.), *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (New York: Boulder, 2003), 114-131:117.

[114] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Part I*, 326.

[115] Jovan Cvijic, *La péninsule balkanique: Geographie humaine* (Paris: Colin, 1918), 282, cited and translated in: Carmichael, "'Neither Serbs, nor Turks'", 126.

[116] Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Part I*, 334.

material for mythically (and partly religiously) legitimizing the fanatical sacrifice for a rather secular ideology of nationalism. [117] Njegoš work contained all the useful narrative ingredients: "Heroic acts, idealized self-sacrifice for the national cause, a bifurcation between a suppressed and sacred community and a profane tyranny; and the idea of renewal and redemption through the defeat of the Turks."[118]

An illustration of the instrumentalisation of the Obilić-myth is a reportage written by Princip, which was published in *Narod* in 1914.[119] The reportage is about the local elections in Hadžići, the village where he spent much of his time in the house of his older brother Jovo. The article is meant to denounce electoral fraud and injustice of the Austrian authorities. Princip wrote how, at the end of the day, the opposition leader Divljan seemed to have won the local elections. The traitors of the local Bosnian Serb officials were mocked in a public meeting.

> "The joy and happiness had not come to an end. Then a sympathetic Serbian mister Milinković stood up and spoke: 'People! Now is the time that Miloš will arrive, and not that Miloš who died for the pride and greatness of the Serbian name, but the traitor Miloš, Miloš Branković!'. The crowd roared loud and thunderous: 'Down with him!" This was an expression of the national anger and wounded pride that that kind of people were amidst the Serbs. Similarly they greeted the other wretches who were so blind to listen to the [Austrian] authorities. An old Serb recalled the curse [Tsar] Lazar had put on the national traitors: "May they die in the mud as long as their children live" those who vote for candidate K[uljanin]…"

This curse Gavrilo Princip heard in the village, was derived from the above mentioned Kosovo lyrics and had been made very popular in the 19th century Serbian national awakening. The verse goes like this:

---

[117] Paul Jackson, "Union or Death!: Gavrilo Princip, Young Bosnia and the Role of 'Sacred Time' in the Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism" *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7 (2006/1), 45-65:56.
[118] Ibidem.
[119] 'Izbor u Hadžićima' in: Bogićević, *Mlada Bosna*, 326-328: 326.

Whoever is a Serb and of Serb birth,
And of Serb blood and heritage,
And comes not to fight at Kosovo,
May he never have progeny born from love,
Neither son nor daughter!
May nothing grow that his hand sows,
Neither young wine nor white wheat!
And may he be dying in filth as long as his children are alive![120]

Princip's descriptions of the peasants, who refer to Miloš Obilić, Vuk Branković, and Tsar Lazar, gives some idea of the "folklorististic semiotics" of the Bosnian-Serb nationalist activists. The fact that Princip stressed these exclamations of peasants and local leaders, also gives somehow an idea of his own mind-set. But what does it mean? Princip used the Kosovo-myth, as described in the Mountain Wreath, to give historical meaning to the contemporary fight of the Bosnian Serbs against the Austrians. The age-old "hajduk"-tradition might be, in the words of Elias, a "sedimented" habitus. I find it, however, more convincing to see the hajduk-tradition and the "revenge of Kosovo" as a powerful myth, which was used to substitute any religious sacrifice.

In 1912 the Kosovo-myth was propelled into the Serbian consciousness, as a direct result of the Balkan Wars. In *Narod*, the Bosnian-Serb nationalist newspaper was written how the successes won in Balkan Wars had not yet stilled the hunger of the Serbs. This article was published on the commemoration day of the Vidovdan of 1389: "Nonetheless, there is something unfinished, incomplete, empty …We feel all of us at every moment in collective and individual life, that for many centuries we have been cut off in obscurity from the entire world, because choked under the yoke of a nation incapable of culture, a state which had as its basis inequality—social injustice …centuries which we could take no step forward, while other nations free and less

[120] 'Ko je Srbin i srpskoga roda / i od srpske krvi i kolena / a ne došao na boj na Kosovo / ne imao od srca poroda / ni muškoga ni devojačkoga! / Od ruke mu ništa ne rodilo / rujno vino ni pšenica bela! / Rđom kapo dok mu je kolena!' This text was taken from a poem by Vuk Karadzic from the first half of the 19th century. This text is written on a contemporary monument in Gazimestan in Kosovo.

encumbered, labored intensively and advanced in progress …Entering the wealth of their cultures and creativity of their spirit, we feel like beggars in a palace."[121]

This was echoed in Princip's writing, and it seems plausible he took it from the Serbian propaganda. The question whether he either wanted to "continue" the Kosovo-battle, or alter it, is something to analyze and discuss in more detail.

Discontinuity: creating a new present

In Part V I have argued that the ideology (if any) of the young Bosnians was not essentially nationalist in character, but was rather an amalgam of different vaguely defined ideological inspirations, all centered on the strong notion of social and cultural education. The educational task many young Bosnians believed in was formulated in an interesting modern discourse of terms like "metamorphosis", "awakening", and "transformation". They believed they were in the middle of a time of metamorphosis, on the threshold of a new age. Various contrasts of the old and the new were framed, such as the one between the nationally unconscious mass of peasants (old), and the conscious vanguard of the intellectual youth (new). Another contrast was the "numb" past of the Ottoman and Habsburg occupation (old), and the glorious future of the Serb, Croat, or Yugoslav nation-state (new). The titles of the periodicals also obviously refer to a new age, a turning point, a historical, determining moment of change: *Zora* (Dawn), *Val* (Turn) and everything connected with Youth (*Omladina*).

The young Bosnians wanted to say goodbye to different cultural features: the elderly generation, the Ottoman and Habsburg occupation, the Bosnian officials, the ignorance of the peasants… all these things were supposed to be sent to the "dustbin of history". This famous phrase was not coincidentally coined in the first decades of the 20th century by the Russian revolutionary Trotsky. In other parts of Europe other movements, not necessarily Bolsheviks, were also aiming to throw culture and political systems to that same dustbin. The most

[121] Risto Radulović, "Vidovdan", in: Pero Slijepčević (ed.), *Rasprave i članci* (Belgrade: Štamparija D. Gregorića, 1940), 132: first printed in *Narod*, 28 June 1913. Cited in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 228.

extreme example of radical renovators throwing things at the "dustbin of history" was the Futurist Movement in Italy, who wanted to "destroy museums, libraries, academies of any sort, and fight against moralism, feminism, and every kind of materialistic self-serving cowardice."[122] The notorious manifesto of the Italian futurists was published in the French newspaper *Le Figaro* in 1909 and so its content reached the Bosnian students via the circles in Paris, Brussels and the Swiss francophone universities. In 1913 Miloš Vidaković, a Bosnian student in Paris, wrote an article about the Futurists for the Bosnian newspaper *Narod*. In this review of the manifesto he expressed his sympathy for Marinetti and others, but at the same time he also criticized them: "We know that the ideal of beauty changes over time. What was beautiful in the bygone times is over now. But that does not imply we have to deny the importance of past works, that are reflected in the creation of everything new, and that makes an organic whole with the new. The new is always the result of cross-over influences from the past."[123]

The Bosnian politicized university students were not that radical as the futurists, and thus the "break" with the old was not the same. In fact, some young Bosnians wanted not to break with the rational age, but to break with the "unconsciousness" of the old times: they wanted to raise the level of education, to "enlighten" the peasants and themselves, and to form the nation. However, at the same time, there were young Bosnians who wanted to break with the past as well, but not so much with the unconsciousness but, in contrast, with rationality and the structure of the modern culture. Dimitrije Mitrinović, for example, did articulate very popular ideas about the noble savage, the virtues of irrationality and even violence:

> "Let us not break ourselves only within reason. Let us rather shatter ourselves to the last component. Let us have mercy upon the animal soul. Let us inhale, breathe deeply of, satiate and choke ourselves with animal blood, with the flesh of savagery, with the bestial

[122] F.T. Marinetti, "The foundations and manifesto of Futurism" in: Idem, *Critical Writings; Edited by Günther Berghaus, translated by Doug Thomson* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2006),11-17:14.
[123] Miloš Vidaković, "Marineti o Futurizmu" in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne II*, 143-148: 146. Originally published in *Narod* 1913.

> power of the profound, debased and earthly life! Let us bow down to the beast! Glory be to the strong who are without spirit, the saved who hurtle and plung into zoology! […] Forward on, sons, creators! Build your world anew, more profoundly, more beautifully and more powerfully than did your fathers!"[124]

These reviews and essays make it appear that the feeling of "breaking with the past" was felt among the young Bosnians, though they had different images of that very past that had to be abandoned. Some claimed to fight against the unconsciousness of the past, while others, in turn, wanted to fight the conscious, the rational character of the past. In any case, the feeling of "breaking" with the past was a *topos* of that time. Several writers had written about breaking the mirror, the glass palace, in order to get rid of the heavy burden of the industrialized civilization.[125] Famous are the words of many intellectuals at the outbreak of the First World War: Europe would be purified in blood. In the grey, industrial world many men looked for the adventure they had lost in the progress of civilization.[126] This particular battle against order and civilization is also one of the main themes of the famous Robert Musil novel *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The Man without Qualities). Musil believed that war, in this case the Great War, is the "soul's revolution against order."[127]

Morbid desire

Did the assassins fight, like 20th century Don Quichotes, against a more abstract and contemporary windmill of modern order?

Reconsidering the violent acts of June 1914, it appears that the assassins did not have one clear rationale for their deeds. In his

[124] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplations", 20.
[125] John Carroll, *Break-out from the Crystal Palace: The Anarcho-Psychological Critique: Stirner, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).
[126] Michael C.C. Adams, *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 73, 78.
[127] Robert Musil, "Das Hilflose Europa. Oder: Reise vom Hundertsten ims Tausendsten" in: *Gesammelte Werke II* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978), 1090; cited in: Eelco Runia, "Into Cleanness Leaping: The Vertiginous Urge to Commit History" *History and Theory* 49 (2010) 1-20: 2.

explanation in court, Gavrilo Princip stressed that he did not really know whether he wanted to shoot or not, and he mentioned a "strange feeling". He said: "…will I shoot or not? At that time I was overwhelmed by a strange feeling and from the sidewalk I focused on the heir, which was very easy, because the car slowed down. I wanted to throw a bomb, but it was screwed and it took too much time, and it was hard to throw it while being surrounded by the crowds, so I shot a couple of times, maybe twice, I do not know, I even turned my head away when I fired."[128] Later he explained that he disagreed with Ilić who was reluctant, not so much because their arguments differed, but because he was driven by "a morbid desire".

In several letters Nedeljko Čabrinović wrote about the wish to commit great deeds. When he left Trieste to travel to Sarajevo, he told his colleagues: "I leave, but you will hear about me!". They did. On June 28 he threw a bomb at Franz Ferdinand, and, without hesitation, he jumped down six meters into the river – hoping to drown himself. The bomb he threw had rolled off the car. Some innocent bystanders were seriously injured. When Čabrinović later in court was asked if he regretted the victims, he said, "I would be happy if I could say I'm not sorry, but these are unintended consequences that *could not be foreseen* [my emphasis]…"[129]

The French philosopher and novelist Albert Camus wrote both fictional and non-fictional texts about the Russian terrorists who took up arms against the suppressive tsarist regime.[130] In his essay *L'Homme Révolté*, he claims that the rebels of Russia needed to create their own values: "Dans l'univers de la négation totale, par la bombe et le revolver, par le courage aussi avec lequel ils marchaient à la potence, ces jeunes gens essayaient de sortir de la contradiction et de *créer les valeurs dont ils manquaient* [my emphasis]."[131] Camus' observation is that these terrorists learned by taking action. They looked for answers

[128] NEFF, Prozess in Sarajevo, 109.
[129] Saslušanje Čabrinovića, in Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 50
[130] The most well-known texts are the essay *L'Homme Révolté* (1951) and the theatre play *Les Justes* (1949).
[131] Albert Camus, *L'Homme Révolté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), Classiques des sciences sociales edition (E-book), 173. Site: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/camus_albert/homme_revolte/camus_homme_revolte.pdf

to their burning questions, and they found them in self-destruction. This self-destruction, however, was justified because they believed to die for a higher ideal. In effect, as Camus concludes, they did not put an idea above the human existence, but instead *lived up to the idea*.[132]

Leonid Andreyev's story The Seven Who Were Hanged, from which Danilo Ilić took so much inspiration during the last weeks of his life in freedom, includes an interesting passage referring to the feeling of seeing death approaching which then transforms into an awareness of an "event" that creates "new visions": "…it seemed more and more as if they were on their way to some kind of celebration. It is a strange fact that almost all people on their way to execution have had this feeling; along with all the anguish and terror, they have a vague sense of enjoying the bizarre event, that was about to take place. Reality runs away with fantasy, and death joins forces with life to *create new visions* [my emphasis]."[133]

The feeling to "break", or to "jump" from high heights to low depths was felt by Princip, Čabrinović, and Ilić – though in significant different ways. For some of the young Bosnians this could only be understood in a literary or cultural sense, but some just wanted to act, wanted to jump. Therefore, the violence of some members of the young Bosnian networks cannot be explained with arguments about a "violent" Balkan culture or the poisonous epic poetry of Kosovo Battles and a continuous trauma from the middle Ages. Instead, the violence of young Bosnia was more of a modern nervous urge for "jumping into the unknown future". It was first of all *movement* they aimed for, and *force* itself. This was, for example, expressed by one of the young writers in the student periodical *Vihor*, who, in his own account, wanted "life going forward, forward, forward, life that is climbing, climbing, climbing, and life that is growing, growing, and growing…".[134]

[132] Ibidem, 177.
[133] Leonid Andreyev, *Seven Hanged* (London: Penguin Books, 2016), 91. Translation by Anthony Briggs. [Originally published in Russian in 1908].
[134] Vladimir Čerina, "U gradu Cinika", *Vihor* 1 (1914/1), 1.

6.4. Conclusions: social, personal and cultural contexts

In this part I aimed to answer the question what social, psychological and cultural conditions incited violence in the young Bosnian student networks. Answering this question adequately and completely proves to be impossible for various methodological and historical reasons I explained in the first paragraphs. Therefore I would like to present my conclusions as some sideway reflections, some nuances to the dominant image. So what is the dominant image? This image has shown a "terrorist" organization, the Black Hand in Belgrade, sending pupils around in the region to bomb or assassinate specific targets of the enemy. There is truth in this image, but I aimed to explain the fanatical behavior from the perspective of the young Bosnians themselves: the former schoolmates and the writers of bombastic essays in the youth periodicals. In what social contexts did they come to what personal beliefs and how did they give meaning to it?

Social contexts

In 1912, Bosnia went through radical changes. The Balkan Wars in neighboring Serbia and Bulgaria made the authorities nervous, and they reacted to it. The young Bosnian networks had been connected to new networks, in this neighboring country. Whereas they used to focus on Vienna, Prague and possibly Zagreb, they now turned to Belgrade. Some of the Croat and Muslim students traveled to Belgrade to study there, including Tin Ujević and Oskar Tartaglia. Serbia, in contrast, was not that much nervous as well ambitious. The state propaganda was loud, and the persons in the networks of nationalist politicians and guerrilla units joined hands: War was good, war was glorious. This milieu of violence was the consequence of the Serbian successes in the war.[135] These military circles and radical networks of Belgrade merged

[135] John Paul Newman, "Civil and Military Relations in Serbia during 1903–1914." In: Geppert, Mulligan, and Rose (eds.) *The Wars before the Great War*, 116.

with the Bosnian networks of young dreamers and idealists, and the latter copied the subcultural gang culture of the former. In the pictures below it is visible how some former schoolboys turned glorified rebels, if not martyrs, in the eyes of their friends.

Postcard from 1912, commemorating Salih Sahinagic, the "martyr for Croatian thought"

Glorification of the jailed Luka Jukic, photo published in *Zora* in Prague (*Zora*, 1912).

Within the continuously evolving Bosnian-Serb anti-Austrian movement, some factions competed, some drifted away. Fanatic behavior, or radicalization, can be explained as a consequence of competing factions, who turn to different sets of values and norms and thus group into closer networks. Once, before the turn of the century, the political engagement was initiated and orchestrated by the broader social movements, including the Čaršija (trade elite) of the cities of Mostar and Sarajevo, and the pioneering Bosnian-Serbs of the late 19th century. Now, around 1912, a faction of this broader movement had

found their own voice which was inspired by the experiences of brutal violence in the Balkan Wars and the role-models in the Russian literature, French and Italian anarchists, and mythical Balkan heroes.

Zooming in on these young Bosnian fanatics, there is evidence that they struggled with serious social and personal problems. These children of the lower middle-class, like Danilo Ilić and Nedeljko Čabrinović, had many opportunities to study abroad and live well, but it did not turn out to be a great success. High expectations met with great disappointments. Apparently, they felt they did not have the chances that other got. For example, Čabrinović and Princip lived under poor conditions in the margins of the cities. Especially in Belgrade, they were outcasts, in the "Bosnian quarter" near the central station. In these dirty streets they only met with other Bosnians, both students and soldiers. Consequently, alienation, frustration and several social grievances were dimmed with the perspective on violent heroism. Aspects of relative deprivation are definitely recognizable in the radicalization story of the Sarajevo assassins. It is very likely that these troubled minds, the misfits, were lured by the military and violent 'habitus' of the Serbian army, and the paramilitary troops at the Southern Serbian frontline. Radical nationalist propaganda was everywhere, *Pijemont* could be read in coffee corners of the city. While being in Belgrade, Princip got in contact with the veterans of the Balkan Wars, the komitadji, the killers in a dirty war. Hence, the individual psychological problems were mistaken for social isolation that could be solved with military, or fanatical behavior.

The availability of arms did help as well. In Belgrade it was quite easy to get a hand on a revolver, some bombs, and other arms. And so it went. I therefore conclude that the agency from Belgrade was perhaps not the cause and roots of the violence, but a perfect addition to already existing personal circumstances.

Then, in Bosnia, there were two important triggers: the anti-terror laws of Potiorek, and the violently suppressed demonstrations of 1912. After the demonstrations many Bosnian-Serb (and some Bosnian Muslim, and Bosnian Croats) left for Belgrade to study there. There they faced social and personal marginalization. They were not really integrated into society and soon turned either to vagabondism, or

vaguely experienced beliefs of terrorism. Belgrade happened to be a great place for scheming new plans.

Individual motives and psychology

Zooming in, once more, on the young Bosnians it becomes clear they eagerly competed amongst each other. In the very close circle of future assassins, the adolescent boys interacted by choosing different "roles". Groups have their own dynamics. The pre-existing ties of friendship get a different character as soon as the group aims for something. The enigmatic Danilo Ilić, born leader of the Sarajevo underground, became the coordinator. The energetic wandering Vladimir Gaćinović was the agitator, the writer of pamphlets and statements. He lived and worked in different parts of the Empire, and in Switzerland, which made him into a more mythical, distant figure. His influence was immense; he was the spider in the web. The ties from Gaćinović led to Ilić in Sarajevo, and then to the young Bosnians in Belgrade. Among them were Gavrilo Princip and Nedeljko Čabrinović. They did not have the talent for any coordinating or organizing role, nor did they have access to the resources, such as extended social networks, and so they picked the role of the warriors.

Cultural reflexes

It is the higher mortal salience that creates cultural reflexes. These cultural reflexes were, predominantly, expressed in Serbian nationalism and mythology. But for the assassins personally, the cultural reflex was also a "sense of becoming". The needed to compensate the negative identity, and their personal shortcomings. So they incorporated the structural violence they had experienced in Austrian Bosnia, and connected it to a narrative of heroes and martyrs from Serbian epic poetry. Both the choice of the role of the warrior, like a historical hajduk from the Bosnian mountains, and the confidence that they did the best for the nation, made their violent act into history – at least in their own understanding and self-aware consciousness. The historical act was hence a way not only to give meaning, but also to create meaning.

If I connect the longing for a new age, as described in Part V, with the violent deeds of the assassins, it becomes apparent that it makes

no difference to choose either for Balkan mythology (as sedimented habitus and narrative practice) or simple Belgrade agency (the strong hands of the strategists, the "masters of puppets") as the force behind the violence. The assassins were – though perhaps not consciously – aiming for the creation a moment, an event that would give birth to new time. Since Princip was planning to die, the act was supposed to bring him not closer to death itself but to a new present. Camus wrote about the (Russian) terrorists that there is, even when they are atheists, something religious and metaphysical in their deeds. They transcendent not into heaven or an abstract idea, but into history. In this context of the young Bosnian assassins, the eternity did not have the religious connotation, but rather the eternal life of the Mountain Wreath stories. Then, he reached out for the real, in an act of murder, self-destruct, and the creative but unforeseeable force of history. What followed next was no part of any plan, not Princip's plan, not the plan of the Black Hand, not Serbia's or Austria's plan and not the plan of any alleged youth organization.

Eventually, the young Bosnian assassins' pathways to violence were paved with three motivations. Their first motivation was very personal: they wanted to become heroes; heroes for their friends, heroes for the nation, but especially, heroes for themselves. Their "heroic" act of violence meant, in this context, a sense of becoming, or, to phrase Meyer Spacks, to "give signs of believing" that the condition of youthfulness itself "surpasses maturity".[136] The deeper lying motivation was to experience the past, to feel one with the nation and the history of their Slavic or Serb race, and to connect with the eternal struggle they had read about in the Mountain Wreath. This was, in the end, something that could give meaning to their self-chosen death. But, eventually, his deed was not meant to be the ending something *old*, but instead opening of something *new*, a longed-for unknown tomorrow.

[136] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea*, chapter 9 ("Heroes: The Early 20th Century"), 256.

We, of tomorrow

Concluding Remarks

"Thus we of tomorrow who live in today are closer to our most distant grandchildren who will possess the truth than to our nearest grandfathers who were in error...(...) the philosophy of value shall be our great work, the wisdom of creation."

Dimitrije Mitrinović – *Aesthetic Contemplations*.[1]

The young Bosnian student movements came to an abrupt end during the First World War. Arrested and interrogated, the Sarajevo bombers heard their sentences (ranging from some years in prison to lifelong incarceration) pronounced in court while bombs were exploding on both the Eastern and Western fronts.[2] Danilo Ilić and two other convicted conspirators were hanged in 1915.[3] Gavrilo Princip and his

[1] The original text in Serbian is: "[…] tako smo mi sutrašnji što živimo danas bliži unucima najdaljim što će imati pravo nego najbližim dedovima što su imali krivo; […] Filosofija vrednosti će biti naše veliko delo, mudrost stvaranja." The original text is partly reprinted in: Palavestra (ed.), *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, Volume II, 102-115; this particular quote is, however, not included in Palavestra's edited volume. The full text (in Serbian) can be found here: http://afrodita.rcub.bg.ac.rs/~dpajin/dm/tekstovi/kontemplacije.html (accessed March 2016). The English translation is taken from: Dimitrije Mitrinovic, "Aesthetic Contemplations" in: H.C. Rutherford (ed.), *Certainly, Future: Selected Writings of Dimitrije Mitrinovic* (New York: Columbia UP, 1987), 17–43: 35–36.

2 For memoirs see: Rudolf Zistler, *Kako sam branio Gavrila Principa i drugove* (Ljubljana: Jugoslavanska tiskarna, 1937); Leo Pfeffer, *Istraga u Sarajevskom Atentatu* (Zagreb: Nova Evropa, 1938). There are several accounts of the trial, in different languages: *Der Prozess gegen die Attentäter von Sarajevo. Aktenmäßig dargestellt von Professor Pharos* (Berlin: Decker Verlag, 1918); Albert Mousset, Albert, *Un drame historique: l'attentat de Sarajevo: documents inédits et texte intégral des sténogrammes du procès* (Paris: Payot 1930); Vojislav Bogićević, *Sarajevski atentat. Stenogram glavne Rasprave protiv Gavrila Principa i* Drugova (Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH, 1954); Dolph Owings, *The Sarajewo Trial* (Chapel Hill: NC, 1984).

3 *Spomenica Danila Ilića* (Sarajevo: N.P, 1925), 77; Mane Krnić, "Na grobovima heroja" *Zvono* (07/02/1920); Vojislav Bogićević, "Zločinac koji je objesio trojicu učesnika Sarajevskog atentata," *Oslobođenje* (24/02/1952).

accomplices died in the Austrian prison of Theresienstadt in northern Bohemia. They faded away in silence, confined to their dark and cold prison cells. This story is told very often – it has been made into plays and films.[4]

A lesser-known story is that in 1916, during the war, the Austrian police arrested hundreds of Bosnian youth activists and ordered them to be put on trial in Banja Luka. These persecutions and show trials were the last acts of a fearful empire in dissolution. Many students were suspected of engaging in espionage for the Serbs. The mugshots preserved in archives show us students, and also peasants, who gaze at us in fear: starved, abused, and despairing.[5] They were put in prisons in Arad, Theresienstadt, and elsewhere, and many died there. Borivoje Jevtić, Gavrilo Princip's classmate, was one of the many young men who were incarcerated. He contacted tuberculosis in prison, and though he survived he had to cope with the effects of that illness for the rest of his life.[6]

In the wake of the Sarajevo attack, Vladimir Gaćinović fled to France, then Belgium. In Paris and Brussels he visited various libraries, studying philosophy and politics. He met up with Russian and Serbian socialists, including Trotsky.[7] During the war he worked for the French

---

[4] Ivo Kranjčević, *Uspomene Jednog učesnika u Sarajevskom Atentatu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1964); Franz Werfel, *Erzählungen aus zwei Welten* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1948) I, 21–26. The films and plays have been mentioned in the introduction. See there, footnotes 60-63.

[5] An interesting account is the fictionalized story of the Bosnian student movement in Tuzla: Miroljub Bogić, *Naše Tamnovanje* (Tuzla: Petrović, 1938).

[6] His personal archive, including all his prison letters from the years 1914–1918, are kept in the Historical Archive of Sarajevo (HAS).

[7] Also Victor Serge, the famous Russian revolutionary novelist, wrote about Vladimir Gaćinović moving in Russian émigré circles during the Great War. His account includes many errors, but is still very interesting to read: "Among them I met the young Serbs of recent memory, friends and disciples of Vladimir Gaćinović, the Bakuninist and nationalist, who died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty after founding the group which was, on 18 June 1914, to carry out the assassination at Sarajevo. They cherished the memory of Gavrilo Princip and of the teacher Ilić. They declared that their leader, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević— alias 'Apis,' in underground circles— had, before initiating the action, been assured of support from Russia; this had been formally promised by Artamonov, the Russian Imperial military attaché in Belgrade, who had been informed of the project." See: Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, trans. from French by Peter Sedgwick with George Paizis (New York: New York Review Books, 2012 [1951]), 212.

navy before he left for the United States in 1916.[8] He lived for a time in a small Serbian diaspora community in remote Montana, and wrote a few poems there before deciding to return to Europe. Once there he settled in Fribourg, Switzerland, so as to finish writing his thesis about the ethics of French writer and philosopher Jean-Marie Guyeu.[9] But even this relatively calm life in academia did not end peacefully. On August 4, 1917, after a night of drinking with some French friends, he felt horrible pains in his stomach and went to the hospital, informing his family and friends that he was feeling miserable. On August 7 his brother came. Four days later Vladimir Gaćinović died. An autopsy showed that his stomach was perforated in an unnatural way. Doctors presumed he was poisoned, but could not confirm this with full certainty. The mysteries surrounding the death (or murder?) of Gaćinović have never been clarified. There are, of course, several conspiracy theories: the Black Hand would have wanted to kill him, or the Serbian government, or perhaps the Austrians. His spending his last night out with some French friends made his untimely death even more puzzling. Unfortunately, after one hundred years there is much to speculate about but very little to know for sure.

This international epilogue for Gaćinović pales in comparison to the impressive second life of Dimitrije Mitrinović in England. After the Sarajevo attack and the outbreak of the war he fled to London, with financial help from Erich Gutkind and support from Frederik van Eeden, who, as an international acclaimed writer, had many contacts among English literary circles.[10] In London Mitrinović initiated several idealistic and sometimes grandiose associations advocating direct democracy and corporatism. As a guru he attracted a multitude of

[8] All biographical details in this paragraph are based on the last chapter of Gaćinović's biography written by Drago Ljubibratić: *Vladimir Gaćinović* (Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1961) and Mihajlo Ražnatović, "Vladimir Gaćinović", *Književne Novine* 17/03/1957.

[9] Parts of the final version of this thesis are published in: Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne: Volume II*, 73-93. Recently the last articles of Vladimir Gaćinović in Switzerland have been found and analyzed in: Dalibor Elezović, "Članci Vladimira Gaćinovića u Ženevskom listu *La Serbie*" *Časopis za Društvene Nauke* 38 Nr. 4 (2014), 1589-1598.

[10] Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 41–42; Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, Letter Dimitrije Mitrinovic to Frederik van Eeden, 1914. OTM: microfiche hs.: XXIV C 58.

followers in the bohemia of interwar and post-war London. He died in 1953. Even today there are people in England who style themselves followers of Mitrinović.[11]

No doubt Mitrinović was a very strange man. His essays are often unintelligible and his vision of a future Europe seems extraordinary. His ideas, too, were not entirely free of racist tendencies.[12] A thinker of a certain kind, I consider him to be a prime figure in the young Bosnian networks. But to what extent, we should ask, was Mitrinović representative of the Bosnian student networks of the beginning of the 20th century? Not really, I would first answer – but then again, precisely because of his conspicuousness and idiosyncrasy, he has become very important. He was a consummate networker, and his charisma helped him to rise above his less creative friends. As a key figure in the Mostar *gymnasium*, he was the driving force behind the publishing of student pamphlets, the founding of discussion forums, and the coordination of the *Mala Biblioteka*, a library where pupils could read and discover modern literature. Later, in Vienna, he took the initiative to revitalize and coordinate the moribund platform Zora by starting up the famous journal with the same name. He was also connected to Croatian (and Serbian) students in Zagreb, and it was he who advocated regarding the Croatian sculptor Ivan Mestrović as a pan-Yugoslavian (or "Serbo-Croatian") artist. In Rome, and later in Tübingen and Munich, he corresponded with Italian, German, and Russian artists including Giovanni Papini and Wassily Kandinsky.[13] Such activity in Rome and in Tübingen seem separate from his conspiratorial activities at home, but nevertheless, there are sufficient reasons to believe that he was the mastermind behind the written program of the Serbian-Croatian rapprochement in 1912 – as I have described it in Part III. This program was used as guidelines by several young Bosnian student activists, including Gavrilo Princip and Ivo

[11] In 2010 the New Atlantis Foundation was renamed in the Mitrinovic Foundation. See: http://www.mitrinovic-foundation.org.uk.

[12] There are several discussions about this on the internet. Worth reading is the article on the website of the *Modernist Journal Archive*: http://modjourn.org/render.php?id=mjp.2005.00.028&view=mjp_object (accessed February 2016).

[13] Holste, *Der Forte-Kreis*, 107-119; Palavestra, *Dogma i Utopija*, 29; Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative*, 27-40.

Andrić. Because this inflammatory program was found in Bosnian schools, the government rang the alarm bells and searched to find subversives among the Sarajevo students. This led to the Pjanić-Ljubibratić trials, which then triggered an intensification of the struggle between the authorities and the radical students. Once again, Dimitrije Mitrinović had been the instigator of this program for unification.

All in all, Mitrinović was a central figure, for two important reasons. First, as I have said, he was the ultimate networker. He was a member of the Serbian cultural elite, he participated in Zagreb's artistic underground, he was one of the coordinators of the circle of Mostar, he was in the group around Zora in Vienna, and he later joined several avant-garde scenes elsewhere in Europe, in Munich and London. He was, thus, the "broker" in the network of young Bosnian students. In Part II I have shown this influence via the graph depicting nodes and ties among the student networks, in which his and Vladimir Gaćinović's nodes were the strongest. If these two individual networks were merged, the result could be conceived as what we have come to know as "Mlada Bosna." We should also consider Mitrinović's key role because he was constantly expressing the ideological conception and the reality of "youth" – as a force in Bosnian society and in European history, if not in the new age of modernity. "Forward on, sons, creators!" he wrote, "build your world anew, more profoundly, more beautifully and more powerfully than did your fathers!" [14] This historical positioning of a group of isolated students genuinely inspired many individuals in this age cohort who formed their ideas around the events of 1908.

In the introduction, I indicated that I have shifted the emphasis from "Bosna" to "Mlada" and from the circles of terrorists and army officers to the students in their own educational realm (*the normal exception*). The two central questions in the introduction concerned networks (*social circumstances*) and ideas and ideologies (*cultural orientations*). These two questions are, however, linked. The connections made by students within their educational infrastructure formed the cultural environment out of which ideas emerged and were shaped and

[14] Dimitrije Mitrinović, "Aesthetic Contemplations," 20.

developed. At the same time, most of the ideas resulted from these links: communicative connections influence identifications. In this epilogue, I will answer the questions about networks and ideas.

Networks

Before Austria-Hungary in 1878 assumed control of the mountainous Ottoman province of Bosnia, there was little intellectual exchange there. This prior state I described in Part I. The main socialization networks were those of the family, the religious strata of society, and the communities of the village, towns, or cities. The schools in Bosnia were "pillarized": there were Christian and Muslim schools. Catholics and Orthodox established and maintained their own schools, and the same was true of the Ottoman Islamic schools. Srećko Džaja's research shows that there were very few intellectuals in Bosnia, and these were mostly writers and (the literate) priests. Similar conclusions could be drawn from the observations of Vaso Pelagić, a Bosnian ex-priest and war hero, who wrote about the peasant uprising and the wars of 1875. He concluded that most Bosnian rebels were basically dissatisfied peasants (see Part IV) and had no notion of national belonging; they felt themselves to be part of their family, their religion grouping, or their local village culture. Nevertheless, the first steps towards a Serbian or Croatian national "awakening" can be dated before the arrival of the Austrians in 1878.

This process accelerated after the Austrians started modelling their colonial society. The grand plans of *Landeschef* Kállay were intended to bind the Bosnians culturally and socially to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This mission, however, had unprecedented consequences in the local setting. Subsidies for Serbian or Croatian culture-houses were not spent on Austro-Hungarian state-building. Quite the opposite. Moreover, Austrian domination in Bosnia led to a reinforcement of nationalist propaganda from the neighboring Croatian and Serbian lands. Their propagandists made strong efforts to bind the Bosnian population to them.

The colonial mission foisted on Bosnia then produced, in response, a small vanguard of intellectuals who, in the long run, united to stand up to the Austrian authorities. I have described in parts I, II,

and III examples of the colonial mission's various unanticipated effects. For example, the Bosnisches Institut in Vienna was a failed attempt to monitor Bosnian students in the capital. When a small intellectual elite developed within a relatively well-organized intellectual infrastructure, new space was created for an anti-Austrian emancipatory Bosnian-Serb movement to emerge. This "cultural infrastructure" connected the cultural institutions in Sarajevo with the reading rooms in the periphery and, ultimately, with the universities in Central Europe and Serbia.

The view that the Bosnian students were all peasants and rural "hajduks" is therefore not entirely correct. The Bosnian-Serb anti-Austrian movement started in the reading rooms of towns in Bosnia, and spread from there to the cities of Zagreb, Vienna, and Prague. Additionally, Belgrade was crucial for many Bosnian Serb students. Though in no way comparable to Paris, St. Petersburg, or London, Belgrade was still a city – a local Balkan metropole. Most of the connections, communication, and other interactions among the different groups, associations, movements, and individual agitators took place in an urban environment.

In these centers of culture and education, the capital cities, there was always a guiding hand from leaders and other influential figures. In parts III and V, I described how students such as Vladimir Gaćinović and Dimitrije Mitrinović were devoted disciples of their teachers in Belgrade. Via these teachers, they were in contact with the Serbian government, and in some cases with the Serbian secret service and, eventually, the Black Hand. The most important "nodes" in the network were those in the influential cultural institution Prosvjeta in Sarajevo, the mercantile elite (*Čaršija*) of Sarajevo and Mostar, and the cultural leaders of Belgrade, including literature professor Jovan Skerlić and others belonging to the literary association of Slovenski Jug.

But these findings about the *Hintermänner* do not explain everything. Precisely as the students left the Balkans for Central Europe and started operating in a more international context, they grew more independent and developed a worldview by themselves. This is illustrated by the wanderings of Vladimir Gaćinović in Switzerland, where he became inspired by the many Russian revolutionaries and SR's (the radical and terrorist, but rural focused socialist-

revolutionaries) he met there. It is therefore not correct to trace all influences and support to Belgrade. On the contrary, there were tensions between Belgrade's army officers and Vladimir Gaćinović when they learned about his Russian connections in Switzerland.

Besides the Belgrade professors, these students also listened to the Czech teacher Tomáš Masaryk. His pragmatic and "realist" ideas had not been spoon-fed to them in Belgrade; these students had imbibed his philosophy of "step-by-step-work." Hence, the internationalization of Bosnian student networks was also a form of emancipation of the youth. Outside their cultural environment at home, they accessed new learning spheres and gained new insights and habits of thinking: critical reflection, and new perspectives on the Empire from different angles, from young Czechs, Poles, Germans, Slovaks, and Italians who studied at various faculties.

So, to summarize, the Austro-Hungarian colonial mission in Bosnia produced circumstances in which an anti-Austrian movement of Bosnian Serb students could come into being. They made use of the schools, reading rooms, universities, and cultural institutions to develop and emancipate themselves. At the same time, via this infrastructure, propaganda from Belgrade could also exert its hold on the Bosnian Serb students in Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities. Despite the countermeasures taken by the local Bosnian government, the revolutionary network grew rapidly and was able to connect with other networks of South Slavic anti-Austrian students in the region. Pioneers like Petar Kočić, Dimitrije Mitrinović, and Vladimir Gaćinović established connections which were afterwards used by other students. In this context I have also added the role played by Stjepan Radić, who, although he was a Croatian rebel with ambiguous and ever-changing ideas, contributed to anti-Austrian and particularly anti-Hungarian feeling among South Slavic students in Prague. Consequently, the authorities faced increasing difficulties when they tried to control these networks. On the other hand, the fast growth of networks was accompanied by the dynamics of internal competition, disintegration, and the forming of new divisions and factions: some individual students but also groups began orienting themselves on the basis of other ideas, ideologies, and national or geopolitical ambitions. The "space" for

opposition was created as an unintended result of the 1) colonial mission, 2) aggressive propaganda and funding from Serbia proper, and 3) the role of pioneering "brokers" who supplied the networks with resources such as contacts, knowledge, and material and financial help. In my conclusion I would put Dimitrije Mitrinović on top of that list: he was the most influential broker mediating between the disorganized student circles and those in power in Belgrade and Zagreb. To cite a very basic illustration of his role: he shared the money he received from the different governments with the students, be it for food, the printing of journals, or travel costs.

Youth

Scholars generally face many obstacles when using "youth" as a conceptual or heuristic tool to explain processes and development. There are many methodological difficulties: cohorts are born again and again, and it proves hard to distinguish between one generation and another. In general, there are only two simple statements to make about "youth." First, it is an important stage in the life of every person, coming between childhood and adulthood. Second, "youth," as has been argued in this thesis, can be an "ideological reality."

In 1900, this "ideological reality" was associated with international social developments, especially modernization. In Bosnia, most visibly in Sarajevo, modernization spread rapidly into several segments of society. For centuries the family had been the only point of identification. The roles of children and parents had been fixed in social norms and schemas; it was clear what a person was supposed to be like during each age period. The rules of interpersonal relations were also understood in age-related frames. But in modern society the phase between childhood and adulthood had turned from a simple transition from child to adult, possibly ritualized in *rites de passage*, into a period of reflection, wandering, and searching for identity, which is to say a sense of self and a role in society. Since there were new opportunities in the labor market and for migration, a child would not automatically live the same life that his parents had. This historical development profoundly changed the social structures of Bosnia. After the self-evident identification with the family was formed and reinforced in the

early years of life, the adolescent now had to find an identification with society, too, in the form of a job, a function, or an ideal. This confusing in-between state could temporarily be solved by identifying neither with the family nor with society as a whole, but with people experiencing the same in-between situation. So, during the early modernization of Bosnia, "youth" itself became a social identification.

This identification with peers started, as I have argued in this dissertation, in the reading rooms and, subsequently, in the universities. This assumption does not take into account a substantial part of the youth population, since the overwhelming majority did not go to college and never visited reading rooms. Comparative sociological research on revolutionary youth shows that in almost all cases the rebellious element represents only a tiny fraction of the total youth population. In fact, the standard response of young people toward the status quo is acceptance, or, in other cases, alienation. As historical sociologist Philip Abrams has observed after the turbulent student demonstrations of the 1960s both in Paris and other university cities of Europe and the US, those opposing the authorities were mostly well-to-do middle class students, who were talented and ambitious. They came from a good social background, and they often had loving and caring parents who offered them the opportunities to develop ideas, ideologies, and a personal worldview.[15] Though one must be careful with anachronistic analogies between the Parisian 1960s and the Bosnian 1910s, I still consider it likely that this conclusion also rings true in the earlier case and that most of the individuals in the activist Bosnian student networks were precisely these sorts of people. Dimitrije Mitrinović hailed from a respected and intellectual family. Gavrilo Princip came from a poor peasant background, but his studies were financed by his brother Jovo, a self-made businessman in the Sarajevo suburb of Hadžići, and their father at home earned money as a postman.[16] Admittedly, the Princips were poor, but definitely not as poor as the majority of Bosnians. For example: Princip's younger brother Nikola studied medicine and

[15] Abrams, "Rites de Passage", 188.
[16] Božidar Tomić, "Rod i Dom Gavrila Principa: Poreklo i ime Principa," *Narodna Odbrana* 19 (1939) nr. 46, 727-727; idem, "Rod i Dom Gavrila Principa: O Principovom roditeljima," *Narodna Odbrana* 19 (1939) nr. 47,745–746; idem, "Poreklo i detinjstvo Gavrila Principa," *Nova Evropa* 32 (1939) nr. 10, 328–336.

became a doctor in interwar Yugoslavia.[17] Nedeljko Čabrinović was from the urban middle class: his father was a bartender and owned a restaurant. One of his sisters would become a doctor in interwar Yugoslavia as well.[18] He did not have loving parents, but, as archived letters tell us, he had a caring and loving aunt.[19] Other students received sufficient financial support from Austrian, Croatian, or Serbian sources of funding. Petar Kočić and Vladimir Gaćinović, who indeed came from poor rural regions, were children of priests. Priests should perhaps not be regarded as members of an elite, but in the local context of the Bosnian periphery they still counted as "intellectuals."

Karl Mannheim's integrative perception of subjective time in his theory of generations proved useful in analyzing the generational "gap" of the Bosnian student networks. History functions as a "resource" for shared identities: the experience of a great historical event makes a generation what they think they are. The crucial generation of Bosnian student activists was formed and inspired by the events surrounding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. This event inspired a small group of political-minded youth to take political action: first the writing and dissemination of oppositional messages, then participation in demonstrations, and – in some extreme cases – the perpetration of violent terrorist attacks.

In his analysis of generational conflicts, Abrams differentiated two types of youth movements.[20] First he identified the youth movement that operates "in itself," meaning that the youth create and shape their own social environment, including its norms and behavioral values. However, this set of norms is limited to interpersonal dynamics and social behavior. In practice, this is often expressed in apolitical bohemianism, extravagance, and something lying between childish extroverted behavior and adult introversion. "Subcultures" is the contemporary name for these "in-itself" groups. He juxtaposes this type of "in itself" youth movements to those that are "for itself," who do not only express shared social norms, but also seek to stand for their own

[17] Vuk Jelovac, "Život, stradanja i smrt Principove majke," *Republika* 30/03/1948.
[18] Dedijer, *Sarajevo* I, 268–269.
[19] Arhiv Jugoslavije - Zbirka Vojislav Jovanović Marambo 335–397.
[20] Abrams, "Rites de Passage," 186.

interests and ideals, and to defend or realize them. Most youth movements are of the former type, but the latter is often louder and more visible. Subsequently, these movements are more often the focus of sociological and historical research: the interest of the present research confirms this statement.

Cultural orientations: The peasantry

The Bosnian youth movement came together and made itself visible, but, in its emancipatory struggle, the youth were powerless. They did not have their own representative bodies, or governments, or autonomous financial and organizational resources. They could only rely on the established institutions of the adults. To give the self-identifying struggle of the youth more urgency, and to imbue it with additional content, the activist youth in Bosnia linked their fate to that of another marginalized group: the peasantry. Precisely by unilaterally joining forces with the Bosnian peasants, they could explain themselves to be fighting for a good cause, and cast their activism as a socially resonant and persuasive narrative. In this dissertation I have aimed to shown that the "peasant" in the ideas of the young Bosnian writers was predominantly an idealized figure. Kočić and Gaćinović indeed idealized the peasantry, and located national identity, struggle, and the feeling of "national awakening" in the culture of the peasants.

When the students decided to express their sympathy with the peasantry during their "going-to-the-people" campaigns, the sympathy was not mutual, quite to their shock. Peasants did not respond to the open lectures, and few joined the young Bosnian networks. I hasten to write that the fight for the emancipation of the peasantry was not a pose: it was genuine, and deeply felt. The students were very serious about their task in society. Having studied in Prague and Vienna, they believed they had the obligation to make use of their privileges and share them with the people. Their future was not in the libraries of the academy; no, it was in society. This ideological orientation I have described and analyzed in Part V.

But besides this earnestness and idealism, the ideology of the peasant also provided the young with a means to distance themselves from the older generation. Petar Kočić and Gavrilo Princip, as well as

Vladimir Gaćinović and Danilo Ilić, believed that the Čaršija – the established trade elite of Sarajevo – had forgotten about the fate of the peasants. In court, Nedeljko Čabrinović testified he had played with the thought of assassinating one of the Serbian "mamelukes" instead of the Austrian heir apparent: they directed their aggression at the older generation of collaborators.[21] Hence, the peasant ideology gave them, as a generation, a political *raison d'être*. They exaggerated when they stressed the differences between the older and younger generations, which in reality were closely connected. The "peasant ideology" and the fierce critique directed at the older generations were first and foremost tools of social conflict and self-definition. By defining the self, they provided themselves with not only a political motto and a group status, but also a role in history. Mitrinović wrote: "Thus we of tomorrow who live in today are closer to our most distant grandchildren who will possess the truth than to our nearest grandfathers who were in error."[22]

So, the "youth" were first a perception, and then a reality. The self-proclaimed revolutionaries were essentially the children of their parents, formed in the parental environment. Their fathers instructed them, fed them, and financed them. But this is not the complete answer, because they were not totally dependent on their parents. Over the past century, many historians have described "Mlada Bosna" as an organization that had an expansionist Serb agenda. Its "members" were foot soldiers of the nationalist geopolitical strategists, the *Hintermänner*. In this dissertation I have aimed to show that this is not the case. I do not adhere to the official Socialist-Titoist reading of "Mlada Bosna" as a "friendly" proto-Yugoslav movement, in contrast to the "evil" Serbian nationalist Black Hand. I reject that notion as simplistic propaganda. At first, there was no "Mlada Bosna"; what's more, proto-Yugoslavism was, even during the Balkan Wars, a relatively marginal phenomenon and not very popular – not even among the youth. Most of these young students were nationalists. However, and this is the key conclusion of my dissertation, this nationalism was first and foremost a positive, optimistic, and educational mission

[21] Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat*, 399.
[22] See motto at the beginning of the Epilogue.

adopted by the youth so that an awakened nation would be delivered from poverty, ignorance, and indolence. In other words, the youth wanted to create the nation, not vice versa.

Youth: Cultural influences and political discourses

Socially and historically, the youth emerged from processes of modernization. But culturally, the focus on youth was not very domestic. The new "ideological reality" of youth sprung from three sources. The first source was directly related to training and education. With reading they had access to world literature. And so literature brought the students in contact with other cultures, with role models, adventures, narratives, and plot-lines. The students saw their problems mirrored in the adventures of the fictional heroes of Turgenev and Dostoyevsky, they identified with the beggars in *Les Miserables*, and dreamed of William Morris's romantic utopias. Through the many descriptions of underground student life in Vienna, Prague, Zagreb, and Belgrade shimmers the world of Russian nihilism, as in a palimpsest. Within the behavior of the Bosnian students we can distinguish the features of fictional characters, such as Chernyshevky's Rakhmetov, Turgenev's Bazarov, and Andreyev's seven prisoners (who were hanged). The few photographs of the student protests in 1912 show the young Bosnians in the guise of typical angry adolescents – wannabe gangsters.

The first source of the youth's "ideological reality" was made possible through a second source. Thanks to the cultural transfer from Russia to Bosnia, youth could identify with the enigmatic anti-Tsarist underground. I described in Part IV how in 1875–1878 Bosnia was briefly the playground of international revolutionary volunteers from Italy and Russia. This cultural contact did not only follow the routes of wandering revolutionaries and refugees. Apart from Italian and Russian contacts, the Bosnian students also learned from Czech, German, and Polish movements, which they came to know in Prague and Vienna.

The third source of the "ideological reality" of the youth was indeed located in Bosnia: it was the counter-terrorist discourse of the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In parts III, V, and VI, I described how Potiorek and others shaped the image of young, angry Bosnian Serb

students undermining authority like "anarchists." This negative image, which was of course partly based on reality, was subsequently taken over by the young students themselves and turned into a proud symbol. Especially after the Pjanić-Ljubibratić trials in 1912 and 1913 and the exceptional measures put in place in 1913, this frame became dominant. Of course, the already heated imaginations of the students could do the rest. They internalized their fascination with literary rebels and the memory of Young Italy and so fashioned a "radical habitus" for demonstrations and more fanatical action: the counter-terrorist discourse spurred them to eventually form a group, a "we." The short-lived coalition of the Babel of Tongues in the various student networks hence became rather powerful.

I refer consciously to Mitrinović's vague notion of "we," because, after all, there was no label for the young anti-Austrian student movement. There were Croatian Catholic groups, nationalist groups, Serb groups, Bosniak groups, Serbo-Croatian groups, and so on. Yet only when they – rarely – adopted this vague notion of "we," could they act as a united group of angry, politically engaged young people. Together as "we" they could join forces, but such unity was always temporary. "We" did not lead to a strong, completely coherent, and consistent group with a clearly defined identity. It remained a provisional "we," a temporary "we," a vague "we." But still: "we."

Wisdom of creation

The French philosopher Alain Badiou wrote how "events" create opportunities. These events are, in his view, utterly and uncompromisingly *real*: "Truth punches a hole in knowledges, it is heterogeneous to them, but it is also the sole known source for new knowledges." [23] Albert Camus wrote about Russian revolutionaries and concluded that it was action which brought them to ideas rather than vice versa (see Part VI). A call from Dimitrije Mitrinović in his

[23] Cited in: Juliet Flower MacCanel, "Alain Badiou: Philosophical Outlaw" in: Gabriel Riera (ed.), *Alain Badiou: Philosophy and Its Conditions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 137–184: 150. See also: Slavoj Žižek, *Event: filosofie van de gebeurtenis* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2015), transl. Huub Stegeman.

"Aesthetic Contemplations" can be read as an interpretation of this observation. He aimed for the "the wisdom of creation."

Im Anfang war die Tat. The history of the student networks seemingly begins with the writings of Petar Kočić in Vienna, with the writing and distribution of leaflets at the Mostar *gymnasium,* and with the secret literary circles of Sarajevo. But the actual political commitment, and the political awareness that is associated with it, really began to develop after Bogdan Žerajić's failed assassination attempt in 1910. The unfortunate student assassin had crossed a line. This event, to speak in Badiou's terms, was the "source" for new knowledges. First, it inspired Vladimir Gaćinović to write his inciting pamphlet "The Death of a Hero." Then, it left the schoolboys of Sarajevo confused. All the relatively moderate literary clubs had to determine their position and make up their minds about what they thought of the failed assassination attempt and Bogdan Žerajić's dramatic suicide. Interestingly, some of the young nationalists, for example Luka Jukić, were very much inspired by the street drama in Sarajevo and decided to turn violent. The idea that the young assassins were sent to Belgrade by the villainous Black Hand officers rings true only for Gavrilo Princip and his trio, and even there the exact role of the officers is not entirely clear. However, there is no evidence that Žerajić and Jukić did not make their decision on their own (see parts II and III).

A second "event" had a violent character, too. During the violently suppressed demonstrations of 1912 in Sarajevo, various coalition came together. The contrast between the Austro-Hungarian police on one side, and the mass of students – including Croatian nationalists, Serbian nationalists, Yugoslav progressives, and some occasional Muslim youths on the other – enhanced the coalition-making process. It was "we" against "them": another source of new knowledge.

The third event was extremely violent. The Balkan Wars marked a turning point in the political and ideological orientation of the young Bosnian student networks. Many volunteered and went to the front. If they returned, life would never be the same again.

The creative force of the "act" was propagated by the duo of Dimitrije Mitrinović and Vladimir Gaćinović, the unmistakable leaders of the radical Bosnian Serb progressive students. "Vlada Mistika" and "Mita Dinamika" were the role models for the less charismatic revolutionaries left behind in Sarajevo, including Princip, Čabrinović, and Ilić. In their symbolic social interactions the two chose to be the great masterminds, disclosing the theories and guiding the actions. Since these roles were given, the young Sarajevo schoolboys decided to become the foot soldiers, the fighters. The dynamics in the smaller groups (modelled after Russian underground *kruzhoks*), organized by Vladimir Gaćinović, offered meaning and purpose to the lives of these psychologically and socially troubled young students: they wanted to perpetrate a violent attack to oppose the Austrians. The subsequent attacks, especially the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, were not essentially inspired by ideology. They were the result of a variety of social, psychological, and interpersonal reasons. However, to give meaning to the sacrifice, both of the victim and the perpetrator, the assassins wanted to position themselves in history, in order to transcend the single life they were planning to end after the attack. Many historians have pointed at the force of this Serbian nationalism, the vital conception of the age-old struggle against the foreign occupation of the Serbian race. Certainly this has been part of the historical reasoning behind the attack, but the young assassins were a bit more than just cogs in the machine. They were modern individuals, who were not necessarily forced to do what they did. They had personal, individual, and – in their own account – very rational motivations to act. But besides that, they also felt an urge to release the force of history. Hence, the act of Gavrilo Princip was destructive, but it was paradoxically meant to be a creative deed: a leap into a tomorrow that would forever be linked to the experience of an event. Not only Princip, but other Bosnian students saw themselves as the heralds if not the creators of a new age. Especially Mitrinović was sure he had a task to fulfill. When his brother visited him in London in 1926, he asked Mitrinović why he had not returned to his homeland. In his answer he described himself:

"The torch flares, the fire has been lit. I am the sower who does not reap the harvest." [24]

We, of tomorrow

Finally, I think that Dimitrije Mitrinović's outcry, "We, of tomorrow, who live in the present" (*mi sutrašnji što živimo danas*), best characterizes the identity and ideology of the short-lived young Bosnian student movements - even if Mitrinović himself might have a had another, more cosmic and a-political idea about this "we" and "of tomorrow".[25] Basically, the "we-notion" cannot be vaguer, but it cannot be more concrete either. Apparently it could be used as an appropriate designation to characterize this phenomenon of young Bosnian student networks stuck between tradition and progress, between Balkan and Europe, and between past and present. The new generation of Bosnian students was, because of their role in society, rather isolated: they were the in-between subculture. This created both a temporary identity as well as a shared destiny, which was temporary as well. For a very short time these students felt themselves to be one, but, then again, they could not really find a common voice, or identify with one name. The only solution was "we" (mi) – a notion of solidarity, a contrast with the prior generation and the foreign occupation, an identity that was finally all more or less based on the notion of being young – in the vanguard of society.

[24] Interview, cited in: Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative*, 25.

[25] We cannot know for sure, because it is after all impossible to look into the mind of Mitrinović, but it is plausible that his notion of the generation "of tomorrow", expressed in the "Aesthetic Contemplations" (1913), was echoing time-conceptions and cultural reflections in two texts he deeply admired. These are the theosophical and esoteric book of the German writer Erich Gutkind, *Siderische Geburt: Seraphische Wanderung vom Tode der Welt zur Taufe der Tat* (Berlin: Karl Schnabel, 1910) and Wassily Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Munich: Piper, 1912). In a 1914 letter to the Dutch writer Frederik van Eeden Mitrinović also refers to the book written by Van Eeden and Erich Gutkind: *Welt-Eroberung durch Helden-Liebe* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster und Loeffler, 1911). These three books include parts about the role of "new people", be it "seers", "heroes" or "geniuses", in elevating humanity or mankind to the next level of consciousness. The letter is available on microfilm and can be found in the Frederik van Eeden Archive in the University Library of Amsterdam.

In retrospect, this explains how "Mlada Bosna" could be claimed by various nationalities and ideologies in both interwar and post-war socialist Yugoslavia. *Any* label would suit. "We, of tomorrow" can, in fact, be anyone. And so it happened that, after 1918, "Mlada Bosna" turned into a sort of Rorschach test in which all sorts of various powers, regional governments, and also historians could see different things. I argue that, after all the ideological layers have been dusted off, something remains of the Young Bosnian student networks. What remains is the double message that is also reflected in the two-part question of this thesis: "We" refers to the search for an identification, an identity, a core and essence of a still undefined culture. And "of tomorrow" refers to the position in-between the world of the adults and the children, and the longing to "create" or "make" a new epoch of social justice and national coherence.[26]

Little of all that was realized. Dimitrije Mitrinović, who survived both the First and the Second World War, became a guru and social innovator in the 1930s and 1940s. When he died in 1953 he could look back on a life in which he experienced two world wars that had destroyed all that he had hoped to realize as a student. Shortly after the war, in 1946, he dictated to one of his followers a bitter, yet not hopeless message: "There will be no more great geniuses, no more great prophets, philosophers, artists. The primordial sources have been worked out to the full. […] There is no longer need of new influxes from a few great original creative men: there is need of creativity which is possible to the many."[27]

[26] It must be remembered that the Austro-Hungarian Empire later turned into a very strong cultural image of a "bygone world", and even more specifically: "The world of yesterday", as it was phrased by Stefan Zweig in his famous nostalgic novel. This stands in contrast to the youth "of tomorrow".

[27] Notes from W.G. Fraser, the New Atlantis Foundation, cited in: Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative*, 182.

Bibliography

Primary Sources, archives

Archive of Bosnia and Hercegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine) - Sarajevo

- Annual Reports (*Godišnji Izveštaj / Jahresbericht*) of the First Gymnasium and the Merchant School in Sarajevo.
- Präsidium des K. und K. gemeinsamen Finanzministeriums in Angelegenheiten Bosniens und der Herzegowina (Präs.).
- Newspapers: *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, *Srpska Riječ*, *Sarajevski List*, *Oslobođenje*.
- Okružni Sud Sarajevo (OSS). Proces Miloš Pjanić i drugi. IV-2-1, 2-2.
- Zbirka otkupa i poklona (ZOP) - 2, 21, 23, 23a, 24, 32, 33, 36, 37.

Archive of Serbia (Arhiv Srbije) - Belgrade

- Annual Reports (*Godišnji Izveštaj*) of the First Belgrade Gymnasium: 1906-1914
- Ministarstvo Inostranih Delova [microfilm] Političko odeljenje, inostrano odeljenje
- *Spomenica o štogodisnjici prve muske gimnazije u Beogradu 1839-1939* (Belgrade 1939).
- Srpske Novine [microfilm]
- Zbirka Poklona i Otkupa 123-51, 123-56, 123-58.

Archiv der Universität Wien - Vienna

- "Zvonimir" – Kroat. Acad. Studentenverein - S165.304
- Islamitisch Akad. Vereinigung "Zvijezda" - S165.306
- Serb. Akad. Verein "Zora" in Wien - S165.305

Archive of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije) - Belgrade

- Zbirka Vojislav Jovanović Marambo 1942/28, 1943/40.

Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv - Vienna

- Hausarchiv (1438-1918) - Nachlass Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand [Hohenberg] - Prozess in Sarajevo
- Ministerium des Äußern - Diplomatie und Außenpolitik - Zeitungsarchiv (1883-1944), 60-65, 84.
- Ministerium des Äußern - Politisches Archiv (1848-1918) - XIX Serbien (1879-1914) 75-80, 90-93.

Historical Archive of Belgrade (Istorijski Arhiv Beograda) - Belgrade

- Upisnice Prve Beogradske Gimnazije 1912/1913 and 1913/1914

Historical Archive of Sarajevo (Historijski Arhiv Sarajeva) - Sarajevo

- Maturalni Katalog - Merchant School (*Trgovačka Škola*), Gymnasium Sarajevo (*Velika Gimnazija*).
- Periodical: *Srpska Omladina*
- Several textbooks of primary and secondary schools in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Hercegovina
- Zbirka Borivoja Jevtića. 474-489.
- Zbirka Fotografije

Kriegsarchiv Wien - Vienna

- Nachlass Friedrich Würthle

Nationalbibliothek Österreich - Vienna

- *Zora* (Vienna).

National Library of Serbia (Narodna Biblioteka Srbije) - Belgrade

- Periodicals and newspapers: *Zora* (Prague), *Zora* (Vienna), *Val*, *Mlada Hrvatska*, *Naprednjak*, *Narod*, *Pijemont*, *Slovenski Jug*, *Vihor*.
- Digital access to: *Bosanska Vila*, *Zora* (Mostar).

Provincial Museum (Zemaljski Muzej) - Sarajevo

- Periodicals: *Školski Vjesnik* and *Školski Glasnik*
- Newspaper: *Zvono: Glasnik Socijalista Jugoslavena.*

Prosvjeta (Serbian Cultural Association) - Sarajevo

- *Kalendar* Prosvjeta 1913 and 1914
- *Spomenica desetgodišnjice Prosvjete* (Sarajevo, 1912).

Other archives, collections, varia

- City Museum Sarajevo (*Muzej Grada Sarajeva*) - photo and newspaper collection
- Pedagogical Museum Belgrade (*Pedagoški Muzej*) - photo and newspaper collection
- School museum of the First Gymnasium in Sarajevo (*Muzej Prve Gimnazije Sarajeva*)
- Theresienstadt Memorial site - permanent exhibition
- University Library Amsterdam - Frederik van Eeden Archief

Interviews

- Georg Hohenberg, Vienna, April 25, 2013.
- Predrag Palavestra, Belgrade, May 28, 2013.
- Gavrilo Princip, Sarajevo, July, 2013.

Newspapers

- *Hrvatski Dnevnik* (Sarajevo)
- *Narod* (Sarajevo)
- *Pijemont* (Belgrade)
- *Politika* (Belgrade)
- *Sarajevski List* (Sarajevo)
- *Srpska Riječ* (Sarajevo)
- *Zvono: Glasnik Socijalista Jugoslavena* (Sarajevo)

Periodicals

- *Bosanska Vila: List za Zabavu, Pouku i Književnost* (Sarajevo)
- *Hrvatska Misao: Glasilo Hrvatske Napredne Omladine* (Prague)
- *Mlada Hrvatska: Glasilo Starcevicanskog Đastva* (Zagreb)
- *Školski Vjesnik* and *Školski Glasnik* (Sarajevo)

- *Slovenski Jug* (Belgrade)
- *Srpska Omladina* (Sarajevo)
- *Val: Glasilo Hrvatske i Srpske Napredne Omladine* (Zagreb/Prague)
- *Vihor: List za nacijonalističku kulturu* (Zagreb)
- *Zora: Glasnik Srpske i Hrvatske Nacionalno-Radikalne Omladine* (Prague)
- *Zora: Glasnik Srpske Napredne Omladine* (Vienna)
- *Zora: List za Zabavu, Pouku i Književnost* (Mostar)

Published primary sources, memoirs

- "Der Briefwechsel T.G. Masaryk - Vatroslav Jagić." *Wiener Slawistisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1970): 173-201.
- Bittner, Ludwig and Hans Uebersberger, ed. *Österreich-Ungarns Außenpolitik. Von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914. Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Ministerium des Äußerns* VIII. Vienna and Leipzig: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1930.
- Bogićević, Vojislav ed. *Mlada Bosna. Pisma i Prilozi*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954.
- Bogićević, Vojislav ed. *Sarajevski Atentat. Pisma i Saopštenja*. Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1965.
- Bogićević, Vojislav ed. *Sarajevski atentat. Stenogram glavne Rasprave protiv Gavrila Principa i Drugova.* Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH, 1954.
- *Der Agramer Hochverratsprozess und die Annexion von Bosnien und Hercegowina von Professor Dr. Th. G. Masaryk*. Vienna: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen, 1909.
- *Der Prozess gegen die Attentäter von Sarajevo. Aktenmäßig dargestellt von Professor Pharos*. Berlin: Decker Verlag, 1918.
- Đurić, Dragiša. *Popis Kuća i Stanova u Beogradu od 6 Novembra 1906 do 15 Marta 1907.* Belgrade: Štamparija Merkur Milorada Stefanovića, 1912.

- Eeden, Frederik van and Volker, *Welt-Eroberung durch Helden-Liebe*. Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster and Löeffler, 1911.
- Gaćinović, Vladimir. *Ogledi i pisma*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1956.
- *Gavrilo Princips Bekenntnisse: ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo, mit Einführung und Kommentar von R. P.* Vienna: Lechner & Sohn, 1926.
- Gutkind, Erich (pseud. "Volker"), *Siderische Geburt: Seraphische Wanderung vom Tode der Welt zur Taufe der Tat*. Berlin: Karl Schnabel, 1910.
- Hadžiselimović, Omer, ed. *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Boulder, 2001.
- Jevtić, Borivoje. *Sarajevski Atentat. Sećanja i Utisci*. Sarajevo: Izdanje P. N. Gaković, 1924.
- Kandinsky, Wassily. *Concerning the Spiritual in Art.* London: Tate Publishing, 2006 [1912].
- Ković, Miloš, ed. *Gavrilo Princip: Dokumenti i sećanje*. Novi Sad: Prometej, 2014.
- Kranjčević, Ivo. *Uspomene jednog učesnika u sarajevskom Atentatu*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1964.
- Križman, Bogdan, ed. *Korespondencija Stjepana Radića 1885-1918.* Zagreb: Institut za Hrvatsku Povijest, 1972.
- Kruševac, Todor, ed. *Petar Kočić: Dokumentarna Građa.* Sarajevo: Muzej Književnost Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967.
- Laqueur, Walter, ed. *The Terrorism Reader. A Historical Anthology*. New York: New American Library, 1978.
- Mitrinović, Dimitrije. *Sabrana Djela: Volume I.* Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1991.
- Mousset, Albert. *Un drame historique: l'attentat de Sarajevo: documents inédits et texte intégral des sténogrammes du procès*. Paris: Payot 1930.
- Owings, Dolph. *The Sarajewo Trial*. Chapel Hill: NC, 1984.
- Parežanin, Ratko. *Die Attentäter. Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf.* Munich: L. Jevtić, 1976.

- Pelagić, Vasa. *Istorije bosansko-ercegovačke bune u svezi za Srpsko- i Rusko-Turskim ratom. Studija za narod i drzavnike.* Budapest: Stamparija Viktor Hornjanski, 1879.
- Pfeffer, Leo. *Istraga u Sarajevskom Atentatu*. Zagreb: Nova Evropa, 1938.
- Popović, Cvetko. *Sarajevski Vidovdan 1914. Doživljaji i Sećanja.* Belgrade: Prosveta, 1960.
- *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars.* Washington: The Endowment, 1914.
- Rutherford, Henry C., ed. *Certainly, Future: Selected Writings of Dimitrije Mitrinović*. New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1987.
- Sarkotić, Stephan L. S. von, ed. *Der Banjaluka-Prozeß: Deutsche Übersetzung Nach Dem Kroatischen Originaltexte Nachgeprüft Vom Orientalischen Seminar in Berlin.* Berlin: Arbeitsausschuß Deutscher Verbände, 1933.
- Serge, Victor. *Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- *Spomenica Danila Ilića*. Sarajevo: No publisher, 1925.
- *Spomenica slavi desetgodisnjice Prosvjete.* Sarajevo: Prosvjeta, 1912.
- *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*. Sarajevo: No publisher, 1921.
- Stepniak, *Underground Russia. Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life.* Westport: Hyperion Press, 1973.
- Tartaglia, Oskar. *Veleizdajnik. Moje uspomene iz borbe protiv crnožutog orla*. Zagreb-Split: Albrecht, 1928.
- Trocki, Lav. *Sarajevski Atentat / Pod Kotorom / Kroz Albaniju*. Belgrade: Hipnos, 1989.
- Trotsky, Leon. *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913. The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky*. New York: Monad Press, 1980.
- Tršić, Nikola. *Sarajevski Atentat u svjetlu bibliografskih podataka.* Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1960.
- Woodcock, George, ed. *The Anarchist Reader*. Sussex: Humanities Press, 1977.

- Würthle, Friedrich. *Dokumente zum Sarajevoprozess. Ein Quellenbericht*. Vienna: Horn, 1978.
- Žakura, Stevan. *Od Terezina do Sarajeva. Uspomene povodom desetogodišnjice prenosa kostiju vidovdanskih heroja*. Belgrade: no publisher, 1930.
- Zistler, Rudolf. *Kako sam branio Gavrila Principa i drugove*. Ljubljana: Jugoslavanska tiskarna 1937.
- *Zora: Književni Rad srpskog đačkog društva u Beču*. Vienna: Srpski Akad. Društvo Zora, 1875.

Secondary Sources

- Abrams, Philip. "Rites de Passage: The Conflict of Generations in Industrial Society." *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 1 (1970): 175-190.
- Adams, Michael C.C. *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Adanir, Fikret, and Suraiya Faroqhi, eds. *Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography*. Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Adriaansen, Robbert Jan. *The Rhythm of Eternity: The German Youth Movement and the Experience of the Past, 1900–1933*. New York: Berghahn, 2015.
- Albertini, Luigi, *The Origins of the War of 1914. Vol II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Aleksov, Bojan, "Forgotten Yugoslavism and anti-clericalism of Young Bosnians." *Prilozi | Contributions* 43 (2014): 79-87, 81-82.
- Aleksov, Bojan, "Habsburg 'Colonial Experiment' in Bosnia and Hercegovina Revisited." In *Schnittstellen: Gesellschaft, Nation, Konflikt und Erinnerung in Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Holm Sundhaussen zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Stefan Troebst and Ulf Brunnbauer, 201-216. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007.
- Aleksov, Bojan, "Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj and the Serbian Identity between Poetry and History." In *We, the People: Politics of*

National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe, edited by Diana Mishkova, 273-305. Budapest: CEU Press, 2009.
- Alpern Engel, Barbara. *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth Century Russia.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London and New York: Verso, 2006.
- Anemone, Anthony, ed. *Just Assassins. The Culture of Terrorism in Russia*. Evanston and Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2010.
- Anievas, Alexander, ed. *Cataclysm 1914: The First World War and the Making of Modern World Politics.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Anzulovic, Branimir. *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Arena, Michael, and Bruce Arrigo, "Social Psychology, Terrorism, and Identity: A Preliminary Re-examination of Theory, Culture, Self, and Society." *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 23 (2005): 485-506.
- Avramović, Zoran, ed. *Prva Beogradska Gimnazija „Moše Pijada" 1839-1989*. Belgrade: n.p, 1989.
- Avrich, Paul. *Anarchist Portraits.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Avrich, Paul. *Bakunin and Nechaev*. London: Freedom Press, 1974.
- Bajin, Zoran. "Miroslav Spalajković na Fridjungovom Procesu." *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 85 (2012): 89-112.
- Bakić, Dragan, "Apis's men: The Black Hand conspirators after the Great War" *Balkanica* 46 (2015), 219-239.
- Bakker, Edwin, and Eelco Kessels. "The OSCE's efforts to counter violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism: A comprehensive approach addressing root causes?" *Security & Human Rights* 23, no. 2 (June 2012): 89-99.
- Balibar, Étienne, and Immanuel M. Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities.* London: Verso, 1991.

- Balzer, Harley D., ed. *Russia's Missing Middle Class: The Professions in Russian History*. New York: Sharpe, 1996.
- Banac, Ivo. "The Confessional 'Rule' and the Dubrovnik Exception: The Origins of the 'Serb-Catholic' Circle in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia." *Slavic Review* 42, no. 3 (1983): 448-74.
- Banac, Ivo. *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics.* Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Bantman, Constance. *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Genesis of the World War*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1925.
- Bataković, Dušan, "Storm Over Serbia: The Rivalry between Civilian and Military Authorities (1911-1914)" *Balcanica*. (2013), 307-356: 324-32.
- Bayly, Christopher, and Eugenio Biagnini, eds. *Giusseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Beatović, Đorđe, and Dragoljub Milanović. *Veleizdajnički procesi Srbima u Austro-Ugarskoj*. Belgrade: Biblioteka Izbornici, 1989.
- Behr, Shulamith, "Wassily Kandinsky and Dimitrije Mitrinovic; Pan-Christian Universalism and the Yearbook - Towards the Mankind of the Future through Aryan Europe" *Oxford Art Journal* 15, No. 1 (1992), 81-88.
- Behschnit, Wolf Dietrich. *Nationalismus bei Serben und Kroaten 1830-1914. Analyse und Typologie der nationalen Ideologie.* Munich: Oldenbourg, 1980.
- Beld, Antonie van den. *Humanity: The Political and Social Philosophy of Thomas G. Masaryk.* Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
- Berlin, Isaiah. *Russische denkers*, transl. by Elise Marijns. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1981. Originally published in English in 1978.

- Besarović, Risto. “Kulturni razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918.” *Prilozi* 16 (1987): 367-402.
- Besarović, Risto. *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine*. Sarajevo: AnuBiH, 1985.
- Besarović, Risto. *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu 1878-1918*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1974.
- Billington, James. *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith.* New York: Basic Books, 1980.
- Biondich, Mark. *Stjepan Radić, the Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization 1904-1928*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2000.
- Bjelajac, Mile. *Zašto revizije? Stare i nove kontroverze o uzrocima prvog svetskog rata*. Belgrade: Odbrana, 2014.
- Blackman, Shane. “Youth Subcultural Theory: A Critical Engagement with the Concept, its Origins and Politics, from the Chicago School to Postmodernism.” *Journal of Youth Studies* 8:1 (2005): 1-20.
- Bogdanović, Mirjana. *“The Serbian Labour Movement in the period 1903-1914.”* PhD diss., Groningen, 1988.
- Bogićević, Vojislav. “Poreklo isečka iz novina.” *Pregled* 9, no. 143-144 (1935): 626-628.
- Bogićević, Vojislav. *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od pojave slovenske pismenost u 9. Veku do kraja austrouarske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini 1918. Godine*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975.
- Bogitchewitch, Milos. *Le Proces de Salonique. Juin 1917*. Paris: Delpeuch, 1927.
- Bogitschewitch, Milos. *Die Auswärtige Politik Serbiens 1903-1914*. Berlin: Brückenverlag 1930.
- Boissevain, Jeremy, and J. Clyde Mitchel, eds. *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973.
- Boissevain, Jeremy. *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974.

- Bontadina, Nadja. *Alexander Herzen und die Schweiz: Das Verhältnis des russischen Publizisten und Aristokraten zur einzigen Republik im Europa seiner Zeit.* Bern: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Bougarel, Xavier. "Yugoslav Wars: The 'Revenge of the Countryside': Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth." *East European Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1999): 157-75.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *La domination masculine.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998.
- Bowyer Bell, J. *Assassin. Theory and practice of political violence*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 2005.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Brake, Mike, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Brake, Mike. *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain, and Canada*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1985.
- Bridge, Francis R. *From Sadowa to Sarajevo. The foreign policy of Austria-Hungary, 1866-1914.* London: Routledge, 1972.
- Bringa, Tone. *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way. Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian village.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Brkljača, Seka, Danka Ilić et al., eds. *Urbano biće Bosne i Hercegovine*. Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju, 1996.
- Brook-Shepherd, Gordon. *The Last Habsburg*. New York: Weybright and Talley, 1968.
- Brook-Shepherd, Gordon. *Victims at Sarajevo. The Romance and Tragedy of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie*. London: Harvill, 1984.
- Brouwer, Sander, "Tsjernysjevski en de nihilisten." *Groniek* 38 (2005): 359-370.
- Brower, Daniel R. *Educating the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Brunnbauer, Ulf and Klaus Roth, ed. *Urban Life and Culture in Southeastern Europe. Antropological and Historical Perspectives*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006.

- Buelens, Geert. *Europa Europa! Over de dichters van de Grote Oorlog.* Amsterdam: Ambo, 2008.
- Burleigh, Michael. *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism.* London: Harper, 2009.
- Butterworth, Alex. *The World That Never Was: A True Story of Dreamers, Schemers, Anarchists, and Secret Agents.* London: Bodley Head, 2010.
- Byrnes, Robert, ed. *Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga*. South Bend, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976.
- Calic, Marie-Janine. *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens 1815-1941*. Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994.
- Canter, David. *The Faces of Terrorism. Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* Malden: Miley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Capek, Karel. *Talks with T.G. Masaryk*. North Haven: Catbird Press, 1995.
- Carmichael, Cathie. "'Neither Serbs, nor Turks, neither water not wine, but odious renegades': The Ethnic Cleansing of Slav Muslims and its Role in Serbian and Montenegrin Discourses since 1800." In *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe*, edited by Bela Varady, 114-131. New York: Boulder, 2003.
- Carr, E.H. *Michael Bakunin.* London: MacMillan Press, 1975.
- Carrere D'Encausse, Helene. *The Russian Syndrome: One Thousand Years of Political Murder.* New York: Holmes & Meijer, 1992.
- Carroll, John. *Break-out from the Crystal Palace: The Anarcho-Psychological Critique: Stirner, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Cassels, Lavender. *The Archduke and the Assassin*. London: Muller, 1984.
- Ćeklić, Sava. *Stotinu Godina Društva "prosvjeta" 1902-2002: Zbornik Izabranih Radova*. Srpsko Sarajevo: Prosvjeta, 2002.
- Čerović, Božo. *Bosanski omladinci i Sarajevski Atentat*. Sarajevo: Trgovačka štamparija 1930.
- Chalian, Gerard and Arnaud Blin, ed. *The History of Terrorism. From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* trans. by Edward Schneider and

others. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007.
- Chatard, Armand et. al.,"Terror Management in times of war: Mortality salience effects on self-esteem and governmental and army support." *Journal of Peace Reseach* 48, nr. 2 (2011): 225-234.
- Chatterjee, Choi. "Transnational Romance, Terror, and Heroism: Russia in American Popular Fiction, 1860-1917." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50 (2008): 753-777.
- Clark, Christopher. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to War in 1914*. London: Penguin books, 2013.
- Clowes, Edith W., ed. *Between Tsar and People. Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*. Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Confino, Michael, ed. *Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin-Nechayev Circle*. London: Alcove Press, 1974.
- Conze, Werner and Jürgen Kocka, eds. *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*: *Teil I: Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleich.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985.
- Ćorović, Vladimir. *Istorije Zore*. Ruma: Štamparija Đ. Petrovića, 1905.
- Crossley, Nick. "From Reproduction to Transformation: Social Movement Fields and the Radical Habitus." *Theory, Culture and Society* 20, no. 6 (2003): 43-68.
- Čubrilović, Vasa, ed. *Istorija Beograda* II. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974.
- Cuny, Noëlle. "Conference Report: Scientific Poetics in European Modernist and Avant-Garde Magazines of the 1900s to the 1940s." *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, V. 2, no. 2 (2011): 237–248.
- Čurić, Hajrudin. *Muslimansko školstvo u u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. Godine*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983.
- Cvijic, Jovan. *La péninsule balkanique: Geographie humaine*. Paris: Colin, 1918.

- Daniels, Robert. “Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution.” *American Slavic and East European Review* 20, no. 2 (1961): 270-278.
- Daskalov, Roumen and Tchavdar Marinov, eds. *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume One: National Ideologies and Language Policies.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Davids, Karel and Larry Stewart, eds. *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Dedijer, Vladimir. “Sarajevo fifty years after.” *Foreign Affairs* 42, no. 7 (1964): 569-584.
- Dedijer, Vladimir. *Sarajevo 1914* I & II. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1978.
- Dedijer, Vladimir. *The Road to Sarajevo*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.
- Demartini, Joseph R. “Change Agents and Generational Relationships: A Reevaluation of Mannheim’s Problem of Generations.” *Social Forces* 64, no. 1 (1985): 1-16.
- Detrez, Raymond. “Colonialism in the Balkans. Historic Realities and Contemporary Perceptions.” *Kakanien Revisited*. February 15, 2002. Accessed January 2015. http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/RDetrez1.pdf 15 February 2002.
- Detrez, Raymond. *Kosovo: De uitgestelde oorlog.* Antwerp: Houtekiet, 1999.
- Detrez, Raymond. *Macedonië. Land in de wachtkamer.* Antwerp: Houtekiet, 2002.
- Diani, Mario, and Doug McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Djokić, Dejan, ed. *Yugoslavism. Histories of a failed idea 1918-1992.* London: Hurst & Co., 2003.
- Djordjević, Dimitrije. “La Commune de Paris et les Yougoslaves.” *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 19, no. 2 (1972): 345-353.
- Djuričković, Dejan. “Pjesnici Mlade Bosne.” *Pregled* 7-8 (1974): 821-840.

- Dollinger, Bernd. *Die Pädagogik der sozialen Frage: (sozial-)pädagogische Theorie vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006.
- Donia, Robert J. and John V. Fine. *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed*. London: Hurst and Company, 1994.
- Donia, Robert J. *Islam under the Double Eagle*. New York: Boulder, 1981.
- Donia, Robert J. *Sarajevo: A Biography.* London: Hurst, 2006.
- Dordevic, Mihailo, ed. *Anthology of Serbian Poetry: The Golden Age.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1984.
- Döring, Jorg and Tristan Thielmann, eds. *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008.
- Drašković, Radovan, *Pretorijanske težnje u Srbiji. Apis i Crna Ruka*. Belgrade: Žagor, 2005,
- Drozd, Andrew M. *Chernyshevskii's What is to be Done? A Reevaluation*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001.
- Duranović, Amir. "The Agressiveness of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Serbs in the Public Discourse during the Balkan Wars." In *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications,* edited by Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi, 371–397. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013.
- Đuričković, Dejan. *Bosanska Vila 1885-1914.* Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975.
- Dursun, Selcuk. "Procreation, family and 'progress: Administrative and economic aspects of Ottoman population policies in the 19th century." *History of the Family* 16 (2011): 166-171.
- Džaja, Srečko. *Bosnien Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche 1878-1918. Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994.
- Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Boston: Houghton Miflin, 1989.

- Elezović, Dalibor. "Članci Vladimira Gaćinovića u Ženevskom listu *La Serbie*." *Časopis za Društvene Nauke* 38, no. 4 (2014): 1589-1598.
- Elsie, R. *Kosovo in the heart of the powder keg*. New York: Boulder, 1997.
- Erickson, Edward. *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans 1912-1913*. London: Praeger, 2003.
- Erikson, Erik H. *Identity, Youth, and Crisis.* New York: Norton and Co., 1968.
- Espagne, Michel and Michael Werner, eds. *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand.* Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.
- Evans Clements, Barbara. *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Evans, Robert J.W., and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, ed. *The coming of the First World War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Faber, Richard and Christine Holste, eds. *Kreise-Gruppen-Bünde: Zur Soziologie moderner Intellektuellenassoziation*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2000.
- Fajfrić, Željko. *Gavrilo Princip.* Ruma: Panonija, 2014.
- Falina, Maria, and Balázs Trencsényi. "Introduction: Coping with Plurality: Nationalist and Multinational Frames of Mind in East Central European Political Thought, 1878–1941." *East Central Europe* 39 (2012): 173-179.
- Fay, Sidney Bradshaw. *The origins of the World War, Book I: Before: Sarajevo: Underlying causes of the war; Part II: After Sarajevo: Immediate Causes of the war.* New York: MacMillan, 1928.
- Fejzić, Elvis. "Political Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878–1918" *East Central Europe* 39 (2012), 204-236.
- Fell, Elena. *Duration, Temporality, Self Prospects for the Future of Bergsonism*. Oxford: P. Lang, 2012.
- Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream*. New York: Basic Books, 2007.

- Fischer, Fritz. *Griff nach der Weltmacht: Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/1918.* Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961.
- Fleming, Katherine E. "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography." *The American Historical Review* 105 4 (2000): 1218-1233.
- Flower MacCanel, Juliet. "Alain Badiou: Philosophical Outlaw." In *Alain Badiou: Philosophy and Its Conditions*, edited by Gabriel Riera. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Fontijn, Jan. *Trots Verbrijzeld: Het leven van Frederik van Eeden vanaf 1901*. Amsterdam: Querido, 1996.
- Frede, Victoria. *Doubt, Atheism, and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Intelligentsia.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.
- Friedman, Francine. *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.
- Fromkin, David. *Europe's Last Summer. Who started the Great War in 1914?* New York: Knopf, 2006.
- Furlong, Andy. *Youth Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Gajević, Dragomir. *Jugoslovenstvo između stvarnost i iluzija. Ideja jugoslovenstva u književnosti početkom XX vijeka*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1985.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1969): 167-191.
- Gamson, William A. *The Strategy of Social Protest.* London: Dorsey Press, 1975.
- Gavrilović, Darko. *U vrtlogu nacionalizma*. Novi Sad: Stylos, 2007.
- Geertz, Clifford. "The Integrative Revolution." In *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: Free Press, 1963.
- Gehler, Michael en René Ortner, ed. *Von Sarajewo zum 11. September: Einzelattentate und Massenterrorismus*. Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007.

- Gerlach, Christian. “Extremely violent societies: an alternative to the concept of genocide.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 455-471.
- Gingrich, Andre. “Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering.” In *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach,* edited by Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich, 3-17. New York: Berghahn, 2004.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. “Microhistory: Two or three things that I know about it.” *Critical Inquiry* (1993): 10-35.
- Giugni, Marco, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly, eds. *How Social Movements matter.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*. New York: Viking, 2000.
- Gligorijević, Milo. *Rat i Mir Vladimira Dedijera*. Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1985.
- Gluck, Władisław. *Sarajewo. Historija zamachu Sarajewskiego*. Cracow: W. L. Anczyca i Spolki, 1935.
- Gontarski, Stanley, Paul Ardoin and Laci Mattison, eds. *Understanding Bergson, Understanding Modernism.* New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Goy, E.D. “The Attitude of the Serbs to Turgenev’s Works in the 19th Century.” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 36 (1957): 123-149.
- Graaf, Beatrice de, and Cornel Zwierlein. “Historicizing Security. Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive.” *Historical Social Research* 38, no. 1 (2013): 46 - 64.
- Graaf, Bob de. *Op weg naar Armageddon. De evolutie van fanatisme*. Amsterdam: Boom, 2012.
- Graf, Franz. *Heinrich Friedjung und die südslawische Frage* – unpublished dissertation. Vienna, 1950.
- Grandits, Hannes, and Siegfried Gruber. “The Dissolution of the Large Complex Households in the Balkans: Was the Ultimate Reason Structural or Cultural?” *History of the Family* (1996/4).

- Granovetter, Mark. “A Network Theory Revisited.” *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201-33.
- Grayson, Kyle “The ambivalence of assasination: Biopolitics, culture and political violence.” *Security dialogue* 43(1) (2012): 25-41.
- Grémaux, Rene, and Wim van den Bosch. *Mystica met kromzwaard: het opzienbarende leven van Jenny Merkus (1839-1897).* Delft: Eburon, 2014.
- Gurney, Joan Neff and Kathleen J. Tierney. “Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research.” *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1982): 33-47.
- Gurr, Ted R. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Hadzijahić, Muhammed. „Die privilegierten Städte zur Zeit des osmanischen Feudalismus, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Privilegien der Stadt Sarajevo.“ *Südost-Forschungen* (1961): 130-158.
- Hajdarpašić, Edin. “Locations of Knowledge: Area Studies, Nationalism and ‘Theory’ in Balkan Studies since 1989.” *Kakanien Revisited*, July 17, 2009, accessed January 2015, http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/EHajdarpasic1.pdf.
- Hajdarpašić, Edin. *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans 1840-1914*. Ithaca N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Hales, E.E.Y. *Mazzini and the Secret Societies: The Making of a Myth.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956.
- Hall, Richard C.*The Balkan Wars 1912-1913. Prelude to the First World War*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Hastings, Max. *Catastrophe 1914. Europe goes to War.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.
- Hauptman, Ferdo. *Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba Austrougarske vladavine*. Sarajevo: ISI, 1987.
- Hayden, Robert M. “Moral Visions and Impaired Insight: The Imagining of Other People’s Communities in Bosnia.” *Current Anthropology* 48 (2007/1): 105-31.

- Hebdige, Dick, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London and New York: Methuan, 1979.
- Heisserer, Dirk. *Wo Die Geister Wandern: Literarische Spaziergänge Durch Schwabing.* Munich: Beck, 2008.
- Hengel, Guido van. "De rurale paradox van Belgrado. Verheerlijking van het platteland in de Servische cultuur." *Donau – Tijdschrift over Zuidoost-Europa* (2007/2): 43-53.
- Hengel, Guido van. "Frederik van Eeden: Utopisch profeet en hervormer." *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 7 (2014).
- Hengel, Guido van. "Op zoek naar splinters." *Groniek* (2014): 345-361.
- Hengel, Guido van. "Princip als palimpsest: De moordaanslag van 1914 in vijf lagen politieke herinnering." *Leidschrift* 28 (2013/3): 127-146.
- Hengel, Guido van. "Up in Flames: Gavrilo Princip and the City," *Prilozi* (Contributions) 43 (2014): 89-98.
- Hengel, Guido van. *De Dagen van Gavrilo Princip*. Amsterdam: Ambo, 2014.
- Herman-Kinney, Nancy and Larry Reynolds, eds. *Handbook of Symbolic Interactionism.* New York: Alta Mira, 2003.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries.* New York: Norton, 1965.
- Holste, Christine. *Der Forte-Kreis: Rekonstruktion eines utopischen Versuchs*. Stuttgart, M&P, 1992.
- Holste, Christine. *Der Potsdamer Forte-Kreis. Eine utopische Intellektuellenassoziation zur europäischen Friedensicherung.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001.
- Horgan, John. *The Psychology of Terrorism.* New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Hroch, Miroslav. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hroncova, Jolana. "History and Present Situation of Social Psychology." *New Educational Review* 5 (2005): 27–34.

- Hulse, James W. *Revolutionists in London: A study of Five Unorthodox Socialists*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Ignjatović, Aleksandar. "Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism." *Slavic Review* 73, no. 4 (2014): 828-858.
- Išek, Tomislav. *Mjesto i uloga HKD Napredak u kulturnom životu Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine (1902-1918).* Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju Sarajeva, 2002.
- Izenberg, Gerald. *Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Jackson, Paul. "Union or Death!: Gavrilo Princip, Young Bosnia and the Role of 'Sacred Time' in the Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 1 (2006): 45-65.
- Jelavich, Barbara. "What the Habsburg government knew about the Black Hand." *Austrian History Yearbook* 22 (1991): 131-150.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements 1806-1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Jeřabek, Rudolf. *Potiorek. General im Schatten von Sarajevo.* Graz: Styria, 1991.
- Jevđević, Dobrosav. *Sarajevski atentatori*. Zagreb: Binoza, 1939.
- Joll, James. *The Anarchists*. London: Methuan, 1979.
- Jovanović, Slobodan. *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića III*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 2005.
- Jovanović-Marambo, Vojislav. *Potraga za ukradenom istorijom. Izveštaj o pljacki srpskih istorijskih dokumenata u drugom svetskom ratu i nastojanjima da se vrate Srbiji*. Belgrade: Jugoistok, 2010.
- Judah, Tim. *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Južbašić, Dževad. *Eisenbahnbau und Kapitalinteressen in den Beziehungen der Österreichischen mit den Südslawischen Ländern*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993.

- Kamberović, Husnija. *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878 do 1918.* Sarajevo: Ibn Sina, 2005.
- Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Kann, Robert A. *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand: Studien*. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1976.
- Kann, Robert A., Béla K. Király, and Paula S. Fichtner, eds. *The Habsburg Empire in World War I. Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Efforts*. New York: Boulder, 1977.
- Kantorowicz, Hermann. *Gutachten zur Kriegsschuldfrage 1914*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1967.
- Kapidžić, Hamdija. "Agrarne Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske Uprave" *Radovi* 16 (1973): 93-117.
- Kapidžić, Hamdija. *BiH pod austrougarskom University Pressravu*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968.
- Kaplan, Robert. *Balkan ghosts. A journey through history*. New York: St. Martin Press, 1993.
- Karpat, Kemal. "The Balkan National States and Nationalism: Image and Reality." *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2-3 (1997): 329-59.
- Kaser, Karl. *Macht und Erbe. Männerherrschaft, Besitz und Familie im östlichen Europa (1500-1900)*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2000.
- Kaufman, Stuart J. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security*, vol. 30, no. 4 (2006): 45-86.
- Kemura, Ibrahim. *Uloga 'Gajreta' u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine 1903-1941*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986.
- Kennan, George. *The Other Balkan Wars: A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect*. Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993.
- Kenney, Edwin J. . "The Moment: 1910: Virginia Woolf, Arnold Bennett, and Turn of the Century Consciousness." *Colby Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1977): 42–66.
- Kieft, Ewoud. *Oorlogsenthousiasme. Europa 1900-1918.* Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2015.

- Kimball, Stanley. "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63, no. 4 (1973): 1-83.
- Kimerling Wirtschafter, Elise. *Structures of Society: Imperial Russia's "People of Various Ranks."* Dekalb Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Kirchner Reill, Dominique. *Nationalists who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste and Venice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Klačar, A. J. "Jovan Dučić: Poet of Modernism." *Books Abroad* 18, no. 2 (1944): 133-36.
- Klioutchkine, Konstantine. "Between Ideology and Desire: Rhetoric of the Self in the Works of Nikolay Chernyshevsky and Nikolay Dobroliobov." *Slavic Review* 68 (2009): 335-354.
- Koch, Koen. *Een kleine geschiedenis van de grote oorlog 1914-1918.* Amsterdam: Ambo, 2010.
- Kolakovic, Aleksandra. "The Serbian Elite and the Issue of Development of National Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century." In *Empires and Nations from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century: Volume I,* edited by Antonello Biagini, 231-42. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.
- Koller, Marcus, and Kemal H. Karpat, eds., *Ottoman Bosnia. A history in peril.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- Kolm, Evelyn. *Die Ambitionen Österreichs-Ungarn im Zeitalter des Hochimperialismus*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2001.
- Kraljačić, Tomislav. *Kalajev Režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903.* Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987.
- Kreševljaković, Hamdija. *Izabrana Djela III*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991.
- Kreševljaković, Hamdija. *Sarajevo 1878-1918*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1969.
- Krueger, Alan. *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Kruševac, Todor. *Bosanskohercegovački listovi u XIX veku.* Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978.
- Kruševac, Todor. *Petar Kočić.* Belgrade: Prosveta, 1951.

- Kuljić, Todor, Olivera Milosavljevic, and Olga Manojlovic-Pintar, eds. *The Balkan Rachomon. Historiography and literature on dissolution of SFRY.* Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2002.
- Kuljić, Todor. *Prevladanje Prošlošti: Uzroci i pravci promene slike istorije krajem XX veka.* Beograd: Helsinki Odbor za Ljudske Prave, 2002.
- Lampe, John R. *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Lampert, E. *Sons against Fathers: Studies in Russian radicalism and Revolution.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Langdon, John W. *July 1914. The long Debate*. New York: Berg, 1991.
- Laqueur, Walter. *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement.* New York: Basic Books, 1962.
- Leerssen, Joep "Bomen hebben wortels, mensen hebben benen, ideeën hebben vleugels." *Negentiende Eeuw* 32 (2008), 3-14.
- Lehan, Richard "Bergson and the Discourse of the Moderns." In *The Crisis in Modernism: Bergson and the Vitalist Controversy,* edited by Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass, 306–329. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Levi, Giovanni, and Jean Claude Schmitt, eds. *A History of Young People in the West, vol. 2.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Ljubibratić, Drago. *Gavrilo Princip*. Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1959.
- Ljubibratić, Drago. *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski Atentat*. Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1964.
- Ljubibratić, Drago. *Vladimir Gaćinović*. Belgrade: Nolit/Prosveta, 1961.
- Lutard, Catharine. "La question paysanne Yougoslave la trahison des communists," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 102 (1997) : 107-38.
- Luthar, Oto ed., *The Great War and Memory in Central and South-Eastern Europe,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016.

- Lynn, Ellen. ”Remembering “The Terrorism”: Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii’s “Underground Russia” *Slavic Review* 68, no. 4 (2009) : 758-781.
- Lyon, James, “A Peasant Mob”: The Serbian Army on the Eve of the Great War” *The Journal of Military History* 61 No. 3 (1997), pp. 481-502.
- Lyon, James. “Habsburg Sarajevo 1914: A Social Picture.” *Prilozi (Contributions)* 43 (2014): 23-39.
- Lyon, James. *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.
- MacKenzie, David. “Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa and the search for Yugoslav identity.” *The International History Review* 1 (1979): 36-54.
- MacKenzie, David. *Apis, the Congenial Conspirator: The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević.* New York: Boulder, 1989.
- MacKenzie, David. *Ilija Garašanin: Balkan Bismarck.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- MacKenzie, David. *Serbs and Russians.* New York: Boulder, 1996.
- MacKenzie, David. *The “Black Hand” on Trial. Salonika 1917*. New York: Boulder, 1995.
- MacKenzie, David. *The Exoneration of the “Black Hand”.* New York: Boulder, 1998.
- MacKenzie, David. *The Lion of Tashkent: The Career of General M.G. Cherniaev.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974.
- Madžar, Božidar. *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu SamoUniversity Pressravu.* Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982.
- Madžar, Božidar. *Prosvjeta. Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno Društvo 1902-1949*. Sarajevo: Akademija Nauke RS, 2002.
- Madžar, Božo. *Prosvjeta. Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo 1902-1949.* Sarajevo: Akademija Nauke RS, 2002.
- Magaš, Branka. “On Bosnianness.” *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 1 (2003): 19-23.
- Malcolm, Noel. *Kosovo: A short history*. London; Macmillan, 1998.

- Mannheim, Karl. “The Problem of Generations.” In *Essays*, edited by Paul Kecskemeti 276–322. London: Routledge, 1952, accessed November 20, 2015, http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/27MannheimGenerations.pdf.
- Marjanović, Milan. *Hrvatska Moderna I*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti, 1951.
- Marković, Predrag and Nataša Milićević. “Serbian historiography in the times of transition: A struggle for legitimacy.” *Istorija XX Veka* 15, no. 1 (2007): 145-167.
- Marković, Predrag J., Miloš Ković and Nataša Milicević. “Developments in Serbian historiography since 1989.” In *(Re)Writing history: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism, edited by* Ulf Brunnbauer, 276-316. Münster: Lit, 2004.
- Marković, Tatjana. “Political, Cultural, Artistic Activities of the Ujedinjena Omladina.” *Kakanien Revisited, August* 16, 2004, accessed February 2015. http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/ncs/TMarković1.pdf**.**
- Markovich, Slobodan, “Anglo-American Views of Gavrilo Princip” *Balkanica* 46 (2015), 273-314.
- Masleša, Veselin. *Mlada Bosna*. Sarajevo: Izd. Pr. Veselin Masleša, 1964 [1945].
- Mastilović, Draga. “Mostar kao kulturni srediste hercegovačkih Srba krajem XIX i pocetkom XX vijeka.” *Doprinos Srba Bosne i Hercegovine nauci i kulturi: Zbornik radova*. Pale: Fil. Fak. Univ. Istocnog Sarajeva (2007): 279-303.
- McAdam, Doug. “Recruitment to High-risk Activism: The Case of the Freedom Summer.” *American Journal of Sociology* 92.1 (1986): 64–90.
- McAdam, Doug. “The Biographical Consequences of Activism.” *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989): 744-760.
- McAdams, Doug, and John Carthy, eds. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- McGrath, William. “Student Radicalism in Vienna.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 2, no. 3 (1967): 183-201.
- Medaković, Dejan. *Serben in Wien*. Novi Sad: Prometej, 2001.
- Meijer, J.M. *The Russian Colony in Zürich.* Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955.
- Mentzel, Peter. “’Ethnic Cleansing’, Emigration and Identity: The Case of Habsburg Bosnia-Hercegovina.” In *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, edited by Steven Béla Várdy and T.Hunt Tooley, 99-113. New York: Boulder, 2003.
- Merchiers, Ingrid. *Cultural nationalism in the South Slav Habsburg lands in the early nineteenth century: the scholarly network of Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844).* Ghent: Unpublished dissertation, 2006.
- Merkl, Peter.H., ed. *Political violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Merriman, John. *The Dynamite Club. How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris ignited the Age of Modern Terror*. London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009.
- Meyer Spacks, Patricia. *The Adolescent Idea: Myths of Youth and the Adult Imagination*. London: Faber & Faber, 1982.
- Meysels, Lucian. *Die verhinderte Monarchie. Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und das Haus Hohenberg*. Vienna: Molden, 2000.
- Micanović, Slavko. *Sarajevski Atentat.* Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1965.
- Michail, Eugene. “Western Attitudes to War in the Balkans and the Shifting Meanings of Violence 1912-91.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 2 (2012): 219-239.
- Mijalkovski, Milan and Dušo Tomić. *Gavrilo Princip: Enigma srpsko-austrijskih špijunskih bitaka.* Pirot: Pi-Press, 2014.
- Miller, Martin A., *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism. State, Society and the Dynamics of Political Violence.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Milojkovic-Djuric, Jelena, “The Roles of Jovan Skerlić, Steven Mokrajac, and Paja Jovanović in Serbian Cultural History 1900-1914” *Slavic Review* 47 No. 4 (1988), 687-701.

- Milojkovic-Djuric, Jelena. *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830-1880: Image of the Self and Others.* New York: Boulder, 1994.
- Milojkovic-Djuric, Jelena. *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austro-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States 1875-1908.* New York: Boulder, 2002.
- Milojkovic-Djuric, Jelena. *Tradition and Avant-Garde: Literature and Art in Serbian Culture 1900-1918.* New York: Boulder, 1988.
- Mishkova, Diana. "Balkan Liberalisms: Historical Routes of a Modern Ideology." In *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Volume II: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions,* edited by Diana Mishkova and Roumen Daskalov, 99-198. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Mišković, Nataša. *Basare und Boulevards. Belgrad im 19. Jahrhundert.* Vienna: Böhlau, 2009.
- Mitrović, Andrej. *Serbia's Great War. 1914-1918*. London: Hurst & Co, 2007.
- Mitterauer, Michael. "Family Contexts: The Balkans in European Comparison." *The History of The Family* 1, no. 4 (1996): 387-406.
- Mombauer, Annika. *The origins of the First World War. Controversies and consensus*. New York: Longman, 2002.
- Mommsen, Wolfgang and Gerhard Hirschfeld, eds. *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Europe*. London: MacMillan, 1982.
- Moravchevich, Nicholas. "The Village Story in Serbian Literature: The Peasant in the Prose of Petar Kočić." *The Slavic and East European Journal* 21, no. 4 (1977): 506-16.
- Moritsch, Andreas, ed. *Der Austroslavismus – ein verfrühtes Konzept zur politischen Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1996.
- Moritsch, Andreas. "Review of: Dinaida Poplyko, *Vasa Pelagič i Rossija: Iz istorii serbskoj revoljucionnoj mysli.*" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 34, no. 4 (1986): 603-604.
- Moser, Charles. "A Nihilist Career: S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinskij." *American Slavic and East European Review* 20, no. 1 (1961): 55-71.

- Mosse, W.E. *Alexander II and the Modernization of Russia*. London and New York: Tauris 1992.
- Mujanović, Jasmin. "Princip, Valter, Pejić, and the Raja: Elite Domination and Betrayal in Bosnia-Hercegovina." *South-East European Journal of Political Science* 1, no. 1 (2013): 106-20.
- Müller-Funk, Wolfgang, Peter Plener, and Clemens Ruthner, eds. *Kakanien Revisited: Das Eigene und das Fremde (in) der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*. Tübingen: Francke, 2001.
- Mulligan, William. *The origins of the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Murray-Despalatović, Elinor. *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement.* New York and London: Boulder East European Monographs, 1975.
- Mylonas, Christos. *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003.
- Nahirny, Vladimir. *The Russian Intelligentsia. From Torment to Silence*. New Brunswick: Transaction 1993.
- Nešković, Borivoje. *Istina o Solunskom Procesu*. Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1953.
- Neubauer, John. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Neumann, Peter R. *Old & New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.
- Newman, John Paul, "Serbian Integral Nationalism, its Opponents and Mass Violence in the Balkans 1903-1945" *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 124 (2011), 449-463.
- Newman, John Paul. "Civil and Military Relations in Serbia during 1903–1914." *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*. Edited by Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose. 114-128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Novak, Josef, ed. *On Masaryk*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988.

- Okey, Robin. “A Trio of Hungarian Balkanists: Béni Kállay, István Burián and Lajos Thallóczy in the Age of High Nationalism.” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80, no. 2 (2002): 234-66.
- Okey, Robin. “The *Neue Freie Presse* and the South Slavs of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914.” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 85, no. 1 (2007): 79-104.
- Okey, Robin. *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Oliver, Pamela. Jorge Cadena-Roa and Kelly Strawn. “Emerging Trends in the Study of Protest and Social Movements.” In *Political Sociology for the 21st century: Research in Political Sociology*, edited by Betty A. Dobratz, Jason Beckfield Timothy Buzzell and Lisa K. Waldner, 213-244. Stanford: JAI Press, 2003.
- Orton, Lawrence. *The Prague Slav Congress of 1848.* New York: Boulder, 1978.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Beck, 2010.
- Otruba, Gustav. “Die Universitäten in der Hochschulorganisation der Donaumonarchie – nationale Erziehungsstätten im Vielvölkerreich 1850 bis 1914” In *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert: Studien und Materialien,* edited by Christian Helfer and Mohammed Rassem, 75-158. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975.
- Özbek, Nadir. “Policing the countryside: Gendarmes of the late 19th-century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908).” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (2008): 47-67.
- Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010 (2nd edition).
- Page, David Graham, *Dimitrije Mitrinović: Chameleon, Good European, and Exiled Yugoslavist.* University of British Columbia; unpublished MA-thesis, 2005.
- Palairet, Michael. *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution without Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Palavestra, Predrag, ed. *Jovan Skerlić u srpskoj književnosti 1877-1977*. Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1980.

- Palavestra, Predrag. “Young Bosnia: Literary Action.” *Balcanica* 41 (2010): 155-184.
- Palavestra, Predrag. *Dogma i Utopija Dimitrija Mitrinovića*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2003.
- Palavestra, Predrag. *Književnost Mlade Bosne* I & II. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965.
- Paltonen, Matti. “Clues, Margins and Monads: The micro-macro link in historical research” *History and theory* 40, no. 3 (2001): 347-359.
- Paperno, Irina. *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Papić, Mitar. *Istorija Srpskih Škola u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978.
- Papić, Mitar. *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske okupacije*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972.
- Park, Robert Ezra, and Ernest W. Burgess. *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of human Behavior in the Urban Environment.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967 [1925].
- Parkin, Frank. “Adolescent Status and Student Politics.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 no. 1 (1970): 144-155.
- Partridge, Monica. “Alexander Herzen and the South Slav Liberation Movements of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: Some Observations and Comments.” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 56, no. 3 (1978): 360-370.
- Partridge, Monica. *Alexander Herzen: Collected Studies*. Nottingham: Astra Press, 1993.
- Passerini, Luisa, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics in Britain between the Wars*. London: Tauris, 1999.
- Passy, Florence. “Social Networks matter: But how?” In: Diani, Mario, and Doug McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 21-48.
- Pavlović, Kosta. *Jovan Dučić*. Belgrade: Otkrovenje, 2001.
- Pejanović, Đorđe. *Srednje i stručnje škole u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1953.

- Peković, Slobodanka, ed. *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na početku veka 1895-1914*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1992.
- Pereira, N.G.O. *The Thoughts and Teachings of N.G. Cernysevskij*. The Hague nad Paris: Mouton, 1975.
- Perović, Latinka. *Srpski Socijalisti 19. Veka.* Belgrade: Rad, 1985.
- Petrović, Nikola. *Istorijsko mesto, uloga i značaj ujedinjenje omladine srpske*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1977.
- Petrovich, Michael B. *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- Pfaff, Nicole. "Youth Culture as a Context of Political Learning." *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 17, no. 2 (2009): 167-189.
- Pinson, Mark, and Roy P. Mottahedeh. *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Pipes, Richard, ed. *The Russian Intelligentsia.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Pištalo, Borivoje, ed. *Srbi u Mostaru: Rasprave i ogledi*. Belgrade: Svet Knjige, 2001.
- Plaschka, Richard Georg and Karlheinz Mack, eds. *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes. Wissenschaftszentren und geistige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg.* Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983.
- Plaschka, Richard Georg en Karlheinz Mack, eds. *Wegenetz Europäischen Geistes: Universitäten und Studenten*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987.
- Pomper, Philip. *Lenin's Brother: The Origins of the October Revolution.* New York: Norton & Company, 2010.
- Pomper, Philip. *The Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia.* New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1971.
- Popov, Čedomir, ed. *Istorija Srpskog Naroda.* Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 2000.

- Popović, Cvetko. *Oko Sarajevskog Atentata, Kritički osvrti i napomene*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1969.
- Popovic, Vladeta. "Introduction", in: The *Mountain Wreath of P.P. Nyegosh, Prince Bishop of Montenegro 1830-1851*. trans. by James William Wyles. London: Woking.-Unwin Brothers Ltad, 1930.
- Porta, Donatella della. *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Powell, Jason. *Symbolic Interactionism.* New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2013.
- Pushkareva, Natalia. *Women in Russian History: From the tenth to the twentieth Century*. New York: Sharpe, 1997.
- Pynsent, Robert. *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality*. London: Central European University Press, 1994.
- Pynsent, Robert. *T.G. Masaryk: Volume 2: Thinker and Critic.* London: MacMillan, 1989.
- Radkau, Joachim. *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler*. Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1998.
- Radulović, Nemanja. "Slavia Esoterica: Between East and West" *Richerche Slavistiche* 13 (2015): 73-102.
- Radzinsky, Edvard. *Alexander II: The last Great Tsar*. New York: Simon and Schusters, 2005.
- Ražnatović, Mihajlo. "Vladimir Gaćinović." *Književne Novine, March* 17, 1957.
- Reid, Robert, and Joe Andrew, eds. *Turgenev: Art, Ideology and Legacy*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.
- Remak, Joachim. *Sarajevo. The story of a political murder*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1959.
- Renders, Hans, and Binne de Haan. "The Limits of Representativeness: Biography, Life Writing and Microhistory." *Storia Della Storiografia* 59-60 (2011): 32-42.
- Riall, Lucy. "Charisma and the cult of the hero in Risorgimento Italy" In *Political Leadership, Nations and Charisma,* edited by

Viviam Ibrahim and Margit Wunsch, 65-79. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Ricoeur, Paul. “The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text.” *Social Research* 38, no. 3 (1971): 529-562.
- Rigby, Andrew. *Initiation and Initiative: An Exploration of the Life and Ideas of Dimitrije Mitrinović*. New York: Boulder East European Monographs, 1984.
- Ristović, Milan. *Black Peter and Balkan Brigands. The Balkans and Serbia in German satirical journals 1903-1918*. Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2003.
- Rooney, Jeffrey. “The Question of Revolutionary Organization in the Career of Petr Grigor’evich Zaichnevskii.” *Russian Review* 41, no. 1 (1982): 47-59.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. “Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model.” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1993), 317-329.
- Roth, Klaus and Ulf Brunnbauer, eds. *Urban Life and Culture in Southeast Europe: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*. Berlin: Lit, 2006.
- Rothermund, Dietmar. “Nationalismus und sozialer Wandel in der Dritten Welt: Zwölf Thesen.” In *Nationalismus und sozialer Wandel*, edited by Otto Dann. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Kampe Verlag, 1978.
- Rudbøg, Tim, “Helena Petrovna Blavatsky’s Esoteric Tradition” in *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism*, edited by Andreas B. Kilcher, 161-178. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Runia, Eelco. “Into Cleanness Leaping: The Vertiginous Urge to Commit History.” *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 1-20.
- Rüsen, Jörn. *Historische Orientierung: Über die Arbeit des Geschichtsbewußtseins, sich in der Zeit zurechtzufinden.* Cologne: Böhlau, 1994.
- Rusinow, Dennison. “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia.” In *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea,* edited by Dejan Djokic, 11-26. London: Hurst & Co., 2003.

- Ruthner, Clemens. “Austria-Hungary's Only Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918”. In *The Shadow of Colonialism in Europe’s Modern Past 1860 to 1960s,* edited by Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago, 156-169. London: Palgrave, 2014.
- Ruthner, Clemens. “Central Europe goes post-colonial: New Approaches to the Habsburg Empire around 1900.” *Cultural Studies* 16 (2002): 877-883.
- Salom, Nada, and Zlata Bukvić, eds. *120 godine prve gimnazije 1879-1999*. Sarajevo: No publisher, 1999.
- Šarenac, Danilo. “O knjiži *Mesečari: Kako je Evropa ušla u rat 1914*. Profesora Kristofer Klarka.” *Vojnoistorički Glasnik* 1 (2013): 267-280.
- Saunders, Doug. *Arrival City. How the largest Migration in History is reshaping our World.* London: Windmill, 2010.
- Savage, Jon, *Teenage. The Creation of Youth 1875-1945*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2007.
- Savary, Michèle. *Sarajevo 1914. Vie et mort de Gavrilo Princip*. Lausanne: L’Age d’homme, 2004.
- Schlögel, Karl. *Petersburg: Das Laboratorium der Moderne.* Munich: Hanser, 2002.
- Schlumbohn, Jürgen, ed. *Mikrogeschichte-Makrogeschichte. Komplementär oder inkommensurabel?* Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000.
- Schmitt, Bernadotte. *The Coming of War 1914*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1930.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Wien: Geist und Gesellschaft im Fin de Siècle.* Frankfurt: Fisscher, 1982.
- Schubert, Gabriella. *Kleidung als Zeichen. Kopfbedeckungen im Donau-Balkan-Raum.* Berlin: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Sdvižkov, Denis. *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz. Zur vergleichenden Geschichten der Gebildeten in Europa.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.
- Sethre, Ian. “The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Hercegovina 1878-1914.” *Kakanien Revisited* (2004), accessed October, 2012, www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/Sethre1.pdf.

- Seton Watson, R.W. *Sarajevo. A Study in the Origins of the Great War*. London: Hutchinson, 1926.
- Seton Watson, Robert. *Europe in the Melting Pot.* London: MacMillan, 1919.
- Shaya, Gregory. "How to Make an Anarchist-Terrorist: An Essay on the Political Imaginary in Fin-de-Siècle France." *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 2 (2010): 521-43.
- Šidak, Jaroslav, ed. *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu.* Zagreb: Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1969.
- Silke, Andrew. *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences.* West Sussex, England: Wiley and Sons, 2003.
- Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and mental Life." In *The Blackwell City Reader,* edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 103-110. Malden: Wiley and Sons, 2010 (originally published in 1930).
- Simonović, Milića Arežina, ed. *Prva Beogradska Gimnazija 1839-1999*. Belgrade: Own publication, 1999.
- Skarić, Vladislav, Osman N. Khadzhić, and Nikola Stojanović. *Bosna i Hercegovina Pod Austro-Ugarskom Upravom*. Belgrade: Izdavačko i knjižarsko preduzeće G. Kon, 1938.
- Sked, Alan. *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire*. London and New York: Longman, 1989.
- Skerlić, Jovan. *Omladina i njena književnost.* Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966 [1914].
- Skoko, Savo. *Drugi Balkanski Rat.* Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1968.
- Slijepčević, Pero, ed. *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobodenje i ujedinjenje*. Sarajevo: Narodna Odbrana, 1929.
- Slijepcevic, Pero. *Le Regime Politique d'Autriche Hongrie en Bosnie-Herzégovine et les Procès de Haute Trahison par un groupe d'Hommes politique yougoslaves.* Anemasse: Imprinterie nouvelle, 1916.
- Šljivo, Galib. *Omer Paša Latas u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850-1852*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977.

- Smith, David James. *One Morning in Sarajevo*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009.
- Snel, Guido. "The footsteps of Gavrilo Princip: The 1914 Sarajevo assault in fiction, history and three monuments." In *History of the literary cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th century,* edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope, 202-228. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub., 2004.
- Spitzer, Alan B. "The Historical Problem of Generations." *The American Historical Review,* vol. 78, no. 5 (1973): 1353-1385.
- Stites, Richard. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930.* Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Stoianovich, Traian. "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830-1880." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 3 (1959): 242-72.
- Stojanović, Dubravka. *Iza Zavese. Ogledi iz društvene Istorije Srbije 1890-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2013.
- Stojanović, Dubravka. *Kaldrma i Asfalt. Urbanizacija i Evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2008.
- Stojanović, Dubravka. *Srbija i Demokratija 1903-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2003.
- Stokes, Gale. *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth Century Serbia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990.
- Sugar, Peter F. *Nationality and society in Habsburg and Ottoman Europe*. Brookfield: Variorum, 1997.
- Sugar, Peter F., *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878-1918*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963.
- Sundhaussen, Holm. „Barbarische Dörfer, chaotische Städter." *Donau* 2 (2007): 22-33.
- Sundhaussen, Holm. *Sarajevo: Die Geschichte Einer Stadt*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2014.

- Tanner, Marcus. *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Taylor, Alan J.P. *Struggle for Mastery.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Terzuolo, Eric. "Garibaldini in the Balkans, 1875-1876." *The International History Review* 4 no. 1 (1982): 111-26.
- Thomas W. I. and D.S. Thomas. *The child in America*. New York: Knopf, 1928.
- Thorup, Mikkel. *An Intellectual History of Terror. War, Violence and the State*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Tilly, Charles, ed. *The Rebellious Century 1830-1930.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution.* Reading: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1978.
- Tilly, Charles. *Stories, Identities, and Political Change*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Todorova, Maria. "Der Balkan als Analysekategorie: Grenzen, Raum, Zeit." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002): 470-492.
- Todorova, Maria. "Myth-Making in European Family History: The Zadruga Revisited." *East European Politics and Societies 4* (1989): 30-76.
- Todorova, Maria. "The trap of backwardness: Modernity, temporality and the study of Eastern European nationalism." *Slavic Review* 64 (2005):140-164.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997].
- Tomić, Božidar. "Poreklo i detinjstvo Gavrila Principa." *Nova Evropa* 32, no. 10 (1939): 328-336.
- Tomić, Božidar. "Rod i dom Gavrila Principa: O Principovom roditeljima." *Narodna Odbrana* 19, no. 47 (1939): 745–746;
- Tomić, Božidar. "Rod i dom Gavrila Principa: Poreklo i ime Principa," *Narodna Odbrana* 19, no 46 (1939):727-727.
- Tuminez, Astrid. *Russian Nationalism since 1856: Ideology and the Making of Foreign Policy.* Lanham: Rowman, 2000.

- Ulam, Adam B. *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia.* New York: Viking Press, 1974.
- Üngör, Uğur Ümit. "Mass Violence against Civilians during the Balkan Wars." *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*. Edited by Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, 76-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Urdal, Henrik, "A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence" *International Studies Quarterly* 50 No. 3 (2006), 607-629.
- Vega, Jaroslav. *Das architektonische Erbe Mostars aus der Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Verwaltung: Das architektonische Programm im Dienste der Durchführung des politischen Programms der Habsburger Monarchie von 1878 bis 1918.* Graz: Verlag der TU Graz, 2006.
- Velikonja, Mitja. "Titostalgia: On the post-Yugoslav cognitive map." In *Retracing Images: Visual Culture after Yugoslavia*, edited by Daniel Šuber and Slobodan Karamanić, 283-312. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Ventsel, Andreas. "The construction of the 'we'-category: Political rhetoric in Soviet Estonia from June 1940 to July 1941." *Sign Systems Studies* 35, no. 1-2 (2007): 249-266.
- Venturi, Franco. *Roots of Revolution. A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements of 19th Century Russia*. London: Phoenix Press, 2001 [1960].
- Verhoeven, Claudia. "The Making of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism." In *Enemies of Humanity: The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism*, edited by Isaac Land, 99-116. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Verhoeven, Claudia. *The odd man Karakozov. Imperial Russia, Modernity and the Birth of Terrorism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Vermeer, Leonieke. *Geestelijke lenigheid: De relatie tussen literatuur en natuurwetenschap in het werk van Frederik van*

Eeden en Felix Ortt, 1880-1930. Antwerpen/Apeldoorn: Garant, 2011.
- Vertigans, Stephen. *The Sociology of Terrorism: People, Places and Processes.* New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Vervaet, Stijn. "*Bosanska Vila* i Dvojna monarhija. Književni program bosanskohercegovačkih Srba i kulturna politika Austrougarske." In *Susret kultura: Zbornik radova,* 659–669. Univerzitet u Novom Sadu: Filozofski fakultet, 2006.
- Vervaet, Stijn. "Fashioning Legacies of Austro-Hungarian Rule in Bosnia and Hercegovina: The Canonization of Petar Kočić." In (*Mis)Understanding the Balkans: Essays in Honour of Raymond Detrez,* edited by Michel de Dobbeleer and Stijn Vervaet, 337-47. Ghent: Academia Press, 2013.
- Vervaet, Stijn. *Centar i periferija u Austrougarskoj. Dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine u primjeru književnih tekstova.* Zagreb: Synopsis, 2013.
- Victoroff, Jeff and Arie W. Kruglanski, eds. *Psychology of terrorism. Classic and contemporary insights*. New York: Psychology Press, 2009.
- Vojinović, Miloš. "Review of Christopher Clark's Sleepwalkers", *Balkanica* 44 (2013): 422-432.
- Vojinović, Miloš. *Političke Ideje Mlada Bosne*. Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 2015.
- Vucinich, Wayne. "Mlada Bosna and the First World War." In *The Habsburg Empire in World War I. Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Efforts,* edited by Robert A. Kann and Béla K. Király and Paula S. Fichtner, 45-70. New York: Boulder, 1977.
- Vucinich, Wayne. "The Nature of the Balkan Society under Ottoman Rule," *Slavic Review* 21, no. 4 (1962): 597-616.
- Vukic, Miodrag. „Vuk Karadzic zwisschen Grimm und Goethe. Eine Skizze ihrer Wechselwirkung und Freundschaft." In *Vuk Karadzic im europäischen Kontext,* edited by Wilfried Potthof, 134-148. Heidelberg; Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990.

- Vukmanović, Milan. *Omladinski Pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini i veleizdajnički proces đacima 1915-1916 godine*. Banjaluka: Institut za Istoriju u Banjaluci, 1987.
- Vuletić, Vitomir. *Petar Kočić*. Belgrade: Rad, 1963.
- Wachtel, Andrew Baruch. *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Waegemans, Emmanuel. "Lijden door verstand. De kruisweg van de Russische intelligentsia." *Groniek* 38 (2005): 345-357.
- Watts, Duncan. *Small Worlds: The Dynamics of Networks between Order and Randomness*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Weissensteiner, Friedrich. *Franz Ferdinand. Der verhinderte Herrscher*. Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 2007.
- White, Harrison. *Identity and Control: A structural Theory of Social Action.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- White, Harrison. *Identity and Control: How Social Formations Emerge*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Williams, Helen. "Ringing the Bell: Editor-Reader Dialogue in Alexander Herzen's *Kolokol*." *Book History* 4 (2001): 115-132 and 120-122.
- Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in European cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Wirtz, Markus. *Josef Dobrovský und die Literatur: frühe bohemistische Forschung zwischen Wissenschaft und nationalem Auftrag*. Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1999.
- Woehrlin, William F. *Chernyshevsky: the Man and the Journalist.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Wohl, Robert. *The Generation of 1914*. London: Weidenfels and Nicolson, 1980.
- Wołkowicz, Anna. *Mystiker der Revolution: Der utopische Diskurs um die Jahrhundertwende*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007.
- Woodward, James. *Turgenev's* Fathers and Sons. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press and Critical Studies in Russian Literature, 2002.

- Würthle, Friedrich. *Die Spur führt nach Belgrad. Die Hintergründe des Dramas von Sarajevo 1914*. Vienna and Munich: Molden, 1975.
- Würthle, Fritz. "On the Trial of the Sarajevo Assassins. Is there an Authentic Text of the Trial Records? " *Austrian History Yearbook* 2 (1966): 136-152.
- Würthle, Fritz. "Review of: Vladimir Dedijer "The Road to Sarajevo." *Austrian History Yearbook* 4 (1968): 491-497.
- Yafuz, Hakan, and Peter Sluglett, eds., *War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.
- Yavuz, Hakan, and Isa Blumi, eds. *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications.* Salt Lake City: Utah University Press, 2013.
- Zafirovski, Milan and Daniel G. Rodeheaver. *Modernity and Terrorism: From Anti-Modernity to Modern Global Terror.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Živković, Marko. "Violent Highlanders and Peaceful Lowlanders: Uses and Abuses of Ethno-Geography in the Balkans from Versailles to Dayton." *Replika* (1997): 107-20.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *Event: filosofie van de gebeurtenis*. Amsterdam: Boom, 2015. Translation by Huub Stegeman, originally published in English in 2014.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections.* New York: Picador, 2008.
- Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: Tauris, 2004.
- Zweite, Armin, ed. *Kandinsky und Munich: Begegnungen und Wandlungen 1896–1914.* Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1982.

Fiction, literary texts

- Andreyev, Leonid. *Seven Hanged*. London: Penguin Books, 2016. Translation by Anthony Briggs. [Originally published in Russian in 1908].

- Andrić, Ivo. *The Bridge on the Drina*. New York: Macmillan, 1959. Translation by Lovett F. Edwards. Phoenix Edition E-book.
- Basara, Svetislav. *Anđeo Atentata.* Belgrade: Laguna, 2015.
- Bogić, Miroljub. *Naše Tamnovanje*. Tuzla: Petrović, 1938.
- Camus, Albert. *L'Homme Révolté*. Paris: Gallimard, 1951
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolay. *What Is to Be Done?,* trans. by Michael R. Katz. Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Dor, Milo. *Der letzte Sonntag: Bericht über das Attentat von Sarajewo*. Vienna: Amalthea, 1982.
- Hamović, Dragan. *Spomen Principu: Izbor iz Poezije mladobosanaca i srpske poezije o Gavrilu Principu*. Belgrade: Pečat, 2014.
- Kadare, Ismail. *Het Donkere Jaar*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 2002. Translation by Roel Schuyt.
- Kočić, Petar. *Pripovijetki*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986.
- Kočić, Petar. *Sabrana Djela: Knjiga.* Banjaluka: Glas, 1986.
- Marinetti, F.T. *Critical Writings,* edited by Günther Berghaus, trans. by Doug Thomson. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2006.

Travelogues, journalism

- Bazdulj, Muharem. "Jelena Sarajevska." *Vreme,* June 24, 2004.
- Bazdulj, Muharem. "Srećan rođendan, gospodine Hitler!" *Vreme,* October 10, 2013.
- Butcher, Tim. *The Trigger: Hunting the Assassin Who Brought the World to War*. New York: Grove Press, 2014.
- DeVoss, David. "Searching for Gavrilo Princip." *Smithsonian* 31/5 (2000): 42-53.
- Eynikel, Hilde. *De man die de wereld in brand moest steken.* Antwerp: Davidsfonds, 2014.
- Fabijancic, Tony. *Bosnia in the footsteps of Gavrilo Princip.* Edmonton: Alberta University Press, 2010.
- Jergović, Miljenko. "Stope." *Vreme, June* 26, 2004.
- Mayer, Gregor. *Verschwörung in Sarajevo: Triumph und Tod des Attentäters Gavrilo Princip*. Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2014.

- Peeters, Sven and Jelica Novaković. *Wat kwam er uit een schot?* Antwerp: Vrijdag, 2015.
- Remak, Joachim. “Journey to Sarajevo.” *Commentary* 46 (1968): 40-52.

Wij, van morgen. *Samenvatting in het Nederlands.*

In de loop van de 19de eeuw vormden zich in Europa verschillende bewegingen, kringen of "clubs" die zich profileerden als de stem van een nieuwe generatie. Daarmee maakten ze van het bijvoeglijk naamwoord "jong" een nieuw politiek begrip. Nog voor de Europese revoluties van 1848 voerde Giuseppe Mazzini al Jonge Italianen aan. Later volgden allerlei "jonge" bewegingen in vele verschijningsvormen en van zeer divers politiek pluimage: de jonge Polen, de jonge Duitsers, de jonge Belgen, de Jonge Tsjechen, de jonge Javanen en de Jonge Turken. Historici hebben in deze context een aantal politiek activistische studenten uit Bosnië later samengevoegd en betiteld als Jong Bosnië. Deze activistische studenten uit Bosnië vormen het onderwerp van dit proefschrift.

De Jong Bosniërs danken hun roem aan de geslaagde aanslag op de Oostenrijkse aartshertog Franz Ferdinand en zijn vrouw Sofie, in Sarajevo in 1914. De aanslagpleger was de 19-jarige student Gavrilo Princip. Hij werd geholpen door een groep handlangers die op diezelfde dag ook langs de kant van de weg stonden met het doel een aanslag op de Oostenrijkse troonopvolger te plegen. Dat groepje was verbonden met andere activistische groepen, en – volgens de Oostenrijks-Hongaarse autoriteiten, ook met een enorme samenzwering die vertakt was tot in de hoogste regionen van de macht in het naburige Servië. Over de gevolgen van deze specifieke aanslag is veel geschreven: de aanslag veroorzaakte een diplomatieke rel tussen Servië en Oostenrijk

die uitmondde in een oorlogsverklaring. Deze eerste verklaring betekende het begin van de Eerste Wereldoorlog.

Vanwege de enorme gevolgen is de jong-Bosnische beweging in de eerste plaats beschreven vanuit het perspectief van de uitbraak van de Eerste Wereldoorlog. De Jong Bosniërs werden in retrospectief gezien als een soort speelbal in de handen van de Europese grootmachten, en als zodanig hebben ze een onmisbare plaats verworven in de geschiedenisboekjes en het collectieve Europese geheugen. In dit proefschrift heb ik uiteengezet hoe historici in de afgelopen honderd jaar geschreven hebben over de uitbraak van de Eerste Wereldoorlog, en meer specifiek de rol van de Jong Bosniërs hierin. Het verhaal van de moord op Franz Ferdinand is vaak verteld, het is gebruikt in fictie, in het theater, in Tv-series en op het witte doek. Over de moord op Franz Ferdinand valt weinig nieuws meer te vertellen mits er geen nieuwe bronnen opduiken.

Het onderzoek naar de Jong Bosniërs heeft zich in de afgelopen twintig jaar mede daarom gericht op een andere kwestie die alleen begrepen kan worden in het licht van de recente geschiedenis van Zuidoost-Europa. Met het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië tijdens de burgeroorlog van de jaren negentig van de 20ste eeuw hebben veel historici, zowel binnen als buiten de regio, de geschiedenis van Bosnië opnieuw tegen het licht gehouden. De zeven nieuwe republieken die zijn opgericht tussen 1991 en 2008 hebben allen belang bij het schrijven - of herschrijven - van een (nationale) geschiedenis. Die nationale geschiedenissen worden veelal geschreven vanuit een teleologisch perspectief: alles leidt uiteindelijk naar de vervolmaking van de nationale staat, en dan vooral zoals die er tegenwoordig uitziet. Vanuit

dat perspectief is ook Jong Bosnië opnieuw geanalyseerd door historici uit de regio. Hierbij verschoof de aandacht van de betrokkenheid in de Eerste Wereldoorlog naar de nationale identiteit van deze beweging. Belangrijke vragen waren bijvoorbeeld: Kunnen we deze beweging kenschetsen als een (proto-)Servische, (proto-)Bosnische, (proto-)Joegoslavische (etc.) organisatie? En wat zegt dat over hun woorden en daden? Ook dit onderwerp is, net als de uitbraak van de Eerste Wereldoorlog, uitvoerig beschreven in zowel academische als niet-academische werken.

In dit proefschrift heb ik de Jong Bosniërs beschreven noch vanuit de context van de Eerste Wereldoorlog, noch die van het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië aan het einde van de 20ste eeuw. De nadruk in dit proefschrift ligt op de betekenis van het "jong" zijn van de Jong Bosniërs, en wat dit ons vertelt over hun sociale, culturele en politieke positie.

Een belangrijke conclusie - die overigens niet nieuw is - is dat Jong Bosnië geen typische "organisatie" was. Dat wat we Jong Bosnië noemen, was meer een voortdurend veranderend sociaal netwerk dat zich uitspreidde over universiteitssteden in Centraal Europa en de Balkan. Vanuit die grondgedachte heb ik voor dit proefschrift gekeken naar twee belangrijke vragen over dat bewuste netwerk. Ten eerste: wat was de omvang en de dynamiek van dit netwerk? En ten tweede: welke betekenis gaven de betrokken personen aan dit netwerk? Met het stellen van deze twee vragen heb ik de activistische Bosnische studenten uit de periode 1895 tot grofweg 1914 getraceerd in de universitaire wereld van Oostenrijk-Hongarije en een paar omliggende landen. Hierbij ging ik in de eerste plaats hun gangen na (waar leefden ze? wat deden ze?) en

analyseerde ik vervolgens de sporen die ze hebben achtergelaten (artikelen die ze publiceerden, tijdschriften, brieven, dagboeken, etc.). Uit de primaire bronnen heb ik een beeld geschapen van de jong Bosnische studenten netwerken aan de vooravond van de Eerste Wereldoorlog. Om die netwerken meer gestructureerd te analyseren, onderscheid ik drie functies van dat sociale netwerk: 1) socialisatie, 2) verbinding en 3) besluitvorming. Aan de hand van die functies heb ik de studentennetwerken zowel chronologisch als thematisch beschreven.

Studentennetwerken leiden vanzelfsprekend naar de school. In het Bosnië van het einde van de 19de eeuw was educatie relatief nieuw. De Ottomanen, die de regio eeuwenlang bestuurden hadden zich niet buitengewoon ingespannen voor educatie - overigens net als veel andere heersers in dit deel van de wereld. Toen in 1878 op het Berlijns Congres de voogdij over Bosnië en Hercegovina werd toegewezen aan Oostenrijk-Hongarije, was er wat betreft educatie veel werk aan de winkel. In Wenen werden grote plannen gesmeed maar daarvan kwam in de eerste decennia aanvankelijk maar weinig terecht. Niettemin ontstond er tegen 1900 een kleine subcultuur van studenten en scholieren, die een nieuwe wind lieten waaien in de traditionele patriarchale Bosnische samenleving. De vooral stadse studentencultuur stond in contrast met de van oorsprong traditionele identificatiepunten van Bosnië: regio, religie en familie. Door snelle modernisering in vooral de steden raakten deze studenten enigszins vervreemd van de cultuur waaruit ze oorspronkelijk voortgekomen waren. Om dat proces minder pijnlijk te maken, identificeerden zij zich (tijdelijk) met leeftijdsgenoten die in dezelfde omgeving werden geschoold. De school, meer specifiek het gymnasium van Sarajevo, vormde zo een

nieuwe “intellectuele ruimte” waarin een nieuwe subcultuur - die van de jonge adolescent - vorm kreeg.

Dankzij het ontstaan van die intellectuele ruimte kregen intellectuelen van naburige landen, met name Servië en Kroatië, eenvoudig toegang tot knapste koppen van Bosnië. Zij maakten hier dankbaar gebruik van. Zo werden er na enige decennia, nota bene met financiële hulp van de Oostenrijks-Hongaarse autoriteiten, verschillende cultuurcentra en leeszalen opgericht die tot doel hadden de Bosnische bevolking op te voeden in de geest van de nationale cultuur van respectievelijk Servië en Kroatië. Hoewel die sturing vanuit het buitenland zeer sterk was, boden de leeszalen ook genoeg leesvoer aan de scholieren waarmee ze een meer internationale algemene ontwikkeling konden krijgen. Zo boden de school, en later de leeszaal, het netwerk van scholieren ook de fysieke ruimte om een gemeenschappelijke cultuur te ontwikkelen. Om in de terminologie te blijven: ze konden hier socialiseren. Voor dit proefschrift heb ik een paar voorbeelden van socialisatie in intellectuele en/of fysieke ruimtes geanalyseerd, zoals de groep rond het Mostarse culturele tijdschrift *Zora* en de groep scholieren rondom het leeszaaltje *Mala Biblioteka* – ook in Mostar.

Als samenkomsten van kleine groepjes regelmatig plaatsvinden, dan veranderen samenkomsten vanzelf in een meer *structurele verbinding*. De structurele verbindingen van die samenkomsten kregen vorm toen vooral na 1900 meer talentvolle Bosnische scholieren gingen studeren aan universiteiten in andere delen van Oostenrijk-Hongarije. Eenmaal vertrokken uit de thuisregio (Bosnië), raakten ze in, bijvoorbeeld, Wenen in contact met leeftijds-

en lotsgenoten van Tsjechische, Poolse, Slowaakse of Sloveense achtergrond. Voor dit proefschrift heb ik de aanwezigheid van Bosnische studenten in Wenen, Praag, Belgrado, Zagreb en Sarajevo geanalyseerd.

Wenen, de keizerlijke hoofdstad, was voor Bosnische scholieren een belangrijke bestemming. In Wenen kregen de Bosnische studenten een eigen studentenhuis toegewezen waar de autoriteiten hen goed in de gaten konden houden. Het studeren in de hoofdstad was niet alleen maar aangenaam: eenmaal aangekomen in Wenen kregen veel Bosnische studenten een ander beeld van Bosnië. Daarom ontstonden in Wenen, en niet in Sarajevo of Mostar, de meest politieke jongerenorganisaties die zich klip en klaar ten doel stelden het "thuisland" Bosnië te bevrijden. De Bosnische structurele verbindingen in Wenen verknoopten zich vervolgens met al bestaande netwerken van West-Slavische studentenbewegingen in Praag, bijvoorbeeld die van de Tsjechen en Slowaken. Na de Oostenrijkse annexatie van Bosnië in 1908 vertrokken ook steeds meer studenten naar het naburige Servië om te studeren aan de universiteit van Belgrado. In deze stad verbonden de studenten hun netwerken met die van de Groot-Servische en andersoortige nationalisten, die alom vertegenwoordigd waren in de Servische media, politiek, het leger, en in de paramilitaire commando's. Een substantiële alliantie werd vervolgens gesloten in Zagreb met de anti-Hongaarse studenten van Kroatische afkomst. Zo leidden kleine verbindingen, vaak via individuele studenten, tot een grotere kluwen aan allianties. De Anti-Oostenrijkse, voornamelijk Servische of Bosnisch-Servische studenten uit Belgrado en Wenen sloten zich (tijdelijk) aan bij de anti-Hongaarse, voornamelijk Kroatische en

Bosnisch-Kroatische studenten. Als geheel rebelleerden zij tegen de machthebbers in al deze bovengenoemde universiteitssteden. Een kortstondige samenkomst van al deze groepen vond plaats in Sarajevo in 1912, overigens een stad zonder universiteit. Hier inspireerden de (tijdelijk) teruggekeerde studenten uit Wenen, Zagreb, Belgrado of Praag de lokale, nog niet bekeerde scholieren tot demonstraties, geheime bijeenkomsten en zelfs gewelddadige aanslagen.

Al deze verbindingen tussen sociale netwerken van Bosnische studenten in een internationale context moeten we zien vanuit het idee dat de machthebbers en zij over wie ze macht uitoefenen in een continu spel verwikkeld zijn: wie trekt aan het langste eind? Wie heeft het grootste bereik? Wie is er slim, wie is er sterk? Dit spel is vooral een spel van verbeelding: zowel de machthebbers als de studenten deden zich sterker voor dan ze eigenlijk waren. Vanwege de grote samenkomst in Sarajevo in 1912 stuurden de autoriteiten aan op een massaal onderzoek onder de jeugd. Zij zochten naar de rotte appels in de mand. Dit grote politieonderzoek had echter een averechts effect: juist door de jeugd als zodanig te "framen" kregen de verschillende groepen meer samenhang, nu er een duidelijk aanwijsbare gemeenschappelijke vijand was opgestaan. Om de beeldspraak door te trekken: het onderzoek naar de rotte appels in de mand leverde uiteindelijk meer rotte appels op.

Een vergelijkbaar proces van verbeelding speelde een rol in de vorming van een jeugdige subcultuur van "gevaarlijke studenten". Veel van de Bosnische studenten die zich tegen het gezag keerden, lieten zich inspireren door Russische romanfiguren, zoals de nihilisten van Toergenjev, de ascetische en humorloze helden van Tsjernysjevski en

de terroristen van Dostojewski. In hun symboliek, hun beeldcultuur en zelfs in hun kleding en taalgebruik lieten de Bosnische scholieren en studenten zich inspireren door de beweging van Russische radicale studenten die actief waren in de tweede helft van de 19de eeuw. Die cultuur bracht de Oostenrijkse machthebbers in verlegenheid. Bij verschillende aanslagen in de periode 1912 tot 1914 maakten de lokale politie-eenheden zichzelf wijs dat ze te maken hadden met een verre echo van de terroristische golf die Tsaristisch Rusland teisterde gedurende de laatste vier decennia van de 19de eeuw.

Meer als een gevolg dan als een oorzaak van die grote interesse voor "Jong Rusland" knoopten individuele Bosnische studenten ook verbindingen aan met Russische activistische studenten, veelal in Franstalige Zwitserse universiteitssteden. Vladimir Gaćinović uit Mostar, één van de leidende figuren in de Bosnische studentennetwerken had bijvoorbeeld goede contacten met individuele Socialistisch-Revolutionairen (SR's) die hun dagen sleten in cafés in Genève, Fribourg en Lausanne.

Zowel de Oostenrijkse verbeelding van de studentennetwerken (van bovenaf) als de zelfverbeelding van de studentennetwerken (van onderaf) als een soort vage echo van de Russische nihilisten, *narodniki* en terroristen, zorgden ervoor dat de beweging van Jonge Bosniërs groter leek dan ze in feite was. Die verbeelding kwam dus van twee kanten: de autoriteiten geloofden dat het een grotere beweging was met vertakkingen in Belgrado en Sint Petersburg en tegelijkertijd hadden de studenten last van enorme zelfoverschatting. De intellectuele ruimte die was gefaciliteerd door de Oostenrijks-Hongaarse autoriteiten en de infrastructuur van de studentennetwerken die uitvloeiden van Wenen en

Praag naar Zagreb en Belgrado tot aan Sarajevo, maakten het mogelijk dat de studenten zich vanaf 1912 inderdaad gingen profileren als een sociale voorhoede. Voor dit proefschrift heb ik de "vorming" en de "verbeelding" van die voorhoede geanalyseerd aan de hand van de jeugdtijdschriften die uitkwamen in de Servische en Kroatische taal in de bovengenoemde studentensteden. Uit die jeugdtijdschriften spreekt een sociale en culturele missie: studenten hebben de morele plicht het geleerde ook in de praktijk te brengen. Als een generatie zonder eigen middelen, eigen inkomsten en eigen bestaansrecht kozen de activisten de kant van de boerenbevolking. De zo gewenste alliantie met de boerenstand was echter eenzijdig. Van de kant van de boeren bestond geringe interesse om de strijd samen met studenten te voeren. Veel van de jeugdtijdschriften uit die tijd geven een goed beeld van de ontwikkeling die zich voordoet in vrijwel elke sociale beweging: op een gegeven moment worden de leidinggevende pioniers vervangen door hun leerlingen, die de kracht en het zelfvertrouwen hebben gewonnen om zelf aan het roer te staan en hun stem te laten horen.

Met het definiëren van een eigen taak in de samenleving (het verheffen van de onwetende boerenstand) wisten de studenten goed wat hen te doen stond. Om hun doel te realiseren verdeelden ze de rollen. Veel van de rolmodellen voor een sociale beweging stonden al in een handboek voor de moderne terrorist, geschreven door de Russische schrijver Stepniak. Die rollen werden overgenomen door de Bosnische studenten, maar ook zonder Stepniak zou er wel een soort "rollenspel" hebben plaatsgevonden. In een kleine groep van politiek geëngageerde mensen staan altijd mensen op die een dienende dan wel leidende rol willen spelen. Dit is een terugkerend element bij

groepsvormingsprocessen. In de laatste jaren voor het uitbreken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog bekeerden enkele Bosnische studenten en scholieren zich tot de gewapende strijd. Zij zaaiden terreur door middel van doelgerichte aanslagen op symbolen van wat zij als een bezettingsmacht beschouwden. De aanslagplegers onder de Jong Bosniërs kunnen goedbeschouwd alleen historisch geduid worden in hun eigen, zeer specifieke persoonlijke context. Niettemin hadden veel van de Bosnische aanslagplegers in de periode 1912 tot 1914 een aantal zaken gemeen: ze waren getuige geweest van de extreem gewelddadige omgeving van de Balkanoorlog die woedde vanaf 1912 en vaak leden ze een armoedig bestaan in de marges van de samenleving. Ze hadden gefaald: als activist, als student, misschien zelfs als burger. Ten derde, ze stonden zowel privé als "professioneel" in contact met de paramilitaire groepen die actief waren in diezelfde Balkanoorlog.

In hun strijd tegen de Oostenrijkse "bezetters" hadden de aanslagplegers een morele ruimte gecreëerd om zich ook gewelddadig te uiten, maar de meeste van de aanslagplegers werden ook gedreven door een intrinsieke drift om een chaotische situatie te "maken". Om de woorden van de historicus Robert Wohl te citeren: zij waren "wanderers between two worlds". Met het plegen van die specifieke aanslagen wilden zij de nieuwe wereld binnentreden – een moderne, eigen, tijd.

Samenvattend concludeer ik dat Jong Bosnische beweging nooit heeft bestaan als een vereniging, een club, of een kring – met leden en statuten. Niettemin waren er tussen 1895 – het jaar dat de van school gestuurde Bosnische Petar Kočić besloot zijn heil elders te vinden, en 1914 – het begin van de Eerste Wereldoorlog – studentennetwerken die een geheel eigen politieke en culturele

dynamiek hadden. De netwerken waren niet coherent en ook niet constant. Toch gaven ze op verschillende momenten uiting aan een groepsgevoel en profileerden zich als een “wij”, verwijzend naar een subcultuur met een eigen identiteit. Deze “wij” veranderde in de tijd. Eerst was deze “wij” verbonden aan plekken van socialisatie: de school, later de leeszalen en de bijbehorende tijdschriften. Vervolgens werd deze “wij” gevormd in de structurele verbindingen die aangegaan werden in de universiteitssteden, die evolueerden in geheime genootschappen. Tenslotte werd dit “wij” geplakt op daden en besluiten, zoals de demonstraties tegen het Oostenrijks-Hongaarse regime. “Wij” was daarmee een naam geworden voor een generatie: “Jong Bosnië”. Dit “wij” was geen lang leven beschoren, maar dat was ook niet te bedoeling. De bedoeling van dit “wij” was om een kracht op zich te zijn, een kracht die de samenleving naar een nieuwe toekomst zou boksen. Deze netwerken van radicale en soms agressieve, maar ook ambitieuze en pretentieuze studenten was een cultureel fenomeen dat paste bij de nog ongeletterde Bosnische samenleving in het kortstondige koloniale tijdperk van de Oostenrijks-Hongaarse overheersing. Deze vage en ondefinieerbare, maar ook zeer strijdbare “wij, van morgen” stond op de voorste rang van een samenleving op drift, die vanwege de wet van de remmende voorsprong met een katapultsnelheid de moderniteit in werd geschoten.